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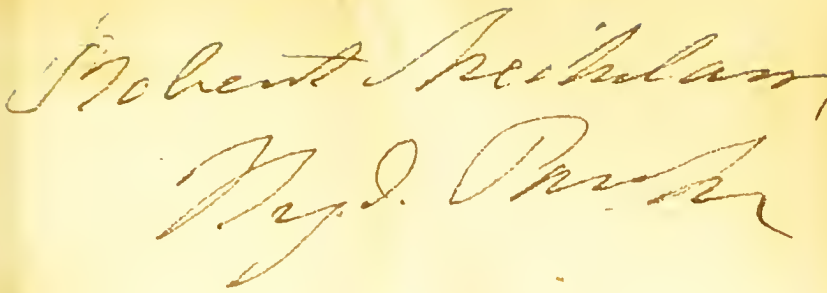

Naufragia

OR

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF

SHIPWRECKS.

VOL. II.

48892

Naufragia

OR

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF

SHIPWRECKS

AND OF THE PROVIDENTIAL

DELIVERANCE OF VESSELS.

By JAMES STANIER CLARKE F.R.S.

CHAPLAIN OF THE PRINCE'S HOUSEHOLD AND LIBRARIAN TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS.

VOL. II.

London

PRINTED BY I. GOLD, SHOE LANE, FLEET STREET,

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TO THE REV. DR. VINCENT

DEAN OF WESTMINSTER

AND OF

THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH

&c. &c. &c.

DEAR SIR,

THE flattering manner in which you were pleased to express yourself, respecting the first Volume of my Progress of Maritime Discovery; induced me to request the permission, which you so obligingly have granted, to inscribe this part of the NAUFRAGIA with your Name: For though it presents only a frozen *Periplus*, it records the patient endurance, and persevering resolution of Men, whose exertions will bear a comparison with those of your favourite NEARCHUS. Amidst the intervals of laborious research, these Narratives have relieved my attention: the collecting of them, from the scarce and detached Volumes in which they had hitherto been preserved, was recommended to me by Minds con-

genial with your own; and I hope the arrangement will not be unworthy of their expectation, or of your perusal:

" Cuncta gelu canaque æternum grandine tecta,
" Æquam ævi glaciem cohibent: riget ardua montis
" Æthere facies, surgentique obvia Phœbo,
" Duratas nescit flammis mollire pruinas."
Silius Italicus, Lib. iii. l. 479.

I have the Honour to subscribe myself with sincere respect and esteem,

Your much obliged

and obedient Servant

JAMES STANIER CLARKE.

PREFACE.

THE reception which the first Volume of the NAUFRAGIA received from the Public, has induced me to continue my original Plan, and to publish a second: The whole, should it be called for in the same flattering manner, will be comprised in about four Volumes.

My object has been to collect rather scarce and early Narratives, than those of a recent date which are more generally known; and the Utility which I had in mind, was to inculcate the lesson of Resignation and Perseverance; to point out the Resources which shipwrecked, or distressed Mariners, had discovered; the Ability and Industry which naval Officers, now almost forgotten, had exerted in the service of their King and Country: And in a more general point of view, to form a Work, which yielding not in point of interest to the Horrors, and unnatural Incidents of the modern Novel, might engage even the female Mind, without poisoning its principles, or tainting its purity.

I. The Shipwreck of PIERRE VIAUD, and the imminent Escapes of CAPTAIN RICHARD FALCONER, were inserted in the first Volume; as following with some degree of similar interest, and a display of valuable Resource, the philosophical Romance of CRUSOE, on which a few * remarks and some illustration had been prefixed.—There are certainly many events narrated by MONSIEUR VIAUD, which tend to render his Story as a true narrative of Facts, very dubious. Some Persons have, in consequence, declared the whole to be a Fiction; and even the French themselves have lately given it a place, if my information is correct, among their *Voyages Imaginaires*. But if the whole of every French Narrative must be assigned to the regions of Fairy Land, because, to use an old English Phrase, *It is given to lying;* I should imagine that the *tomes* of the *Voyages Imaginaires* would be prodigiously increased, and comprise no inconsiderable portion of French Literature.

The original Narrative of VIAUD at its first appearance on the Continent; where it was eagerly read and soon went through many Editions; was considered as authentic. A Gentleman of repu-

* The present EARL OF OXFORD, since the publication of this Volume, has done me the honour of informing me, That his Family had always considered The first EARL OF OXFORD to have been the Author of ROBINSON CRUSOE.

tation in the literary World, who was then on his Travels, informs me, that VIAUD was known by many Persons, whose testimony was in his favour; and though his Narrative was considered as astonishing, no doubts were entertained of its truth. I have also lately succeeded in procuring a Copy, which is very rare, of this curious little book, in its original language. The Edition, which is the second, is an improved one printed at *Bourdeaux*, 1770. The Editor informs us, that VIAUD, who had been erroneously called a Native of *Bourdeaux*, was in fact a Native of *Rochfort:* the following remarks are also subjoined to the Preface.

" Allow us to add a word or two, respecting this new Edition: we have reason to hope, that having only retrenched some repetitions, it will be as favourably received as the first. Some Readers have revolted at the murder of the Negro: we by no means undertake to justify it; yet we entreat them for an instant, to consider the situation in which VIAUD and his unfortunate Companion were placed, when they committed such an Atrocity. The Despair and Hunger which hurried them into that Act, may perhaps in some degree plead their Excuse. Many Persons have pretended, that such a deed was not probable, and have thence

concluded, that the Narrative was a mere Romance. If this Trait was *unique*, their Doubts might have some foundation: but Mariners have furnished us with an infinity of Examples, the greater part of which are sufficiently known. Allow us to cite one of the most inconsiderable: it is the deposition that was made at the commencement of the Year 1766, before GEORGE NELSON, Lord Mayor of London, received by the public Notary Mr. Robert Shank."

This Editor then proceeds to give an abstract of the Distresses and Deliverance of Captain DAVID HARRISON, who in 1765, commanded an American Sloop called the Peggy; which are inserted in the third Volume of the *Histoire des Naufrages. The particular passage which this foreigner had in view, is certainly very aptly selected. The Crew, having pretended to cast Lots, resolved to murder a Negro who was on board. "The poor Fellow, however, knowing what had been determined against him, and seeing one of the Crew loading a pistol to dispatch him, ran to the Captain, begging that he would endeavour to save his life. But the Captain could only regret his

* See preceding Page 22. This extraordinary Narrative, with the Shipwreck of the *Speedwell Frigate*, and the *Journal of Prentices*, (see Pages 13 and 15,) which I had intended to insert in this Volume, are, for want of Room, reserved for the next.

want of power to protect him; and saw him the next moment dragged into the Steerage, where he was almost immediately shot through the head. Having made a large Fire, they began to cut him up almost as soon as he was dead, intending to fry his entrails for Supper: but one of the fore-mast Men, whose name was *James Campbell*, being ravenously impatient for Food, tore the Liver out of his Body, and devoured it raw; notwithstanding the Fire at hand, where it might have been dressed in a few minutes. They continued busy the principal part of the Night with their Feast, and did not retire until two in the Morning."

And yet, strange as it may appear, these Men were not without humanity; as afterwards appeared, when on wanting more Food, they drew lots, and one of their Messmates, but for the unexpected appearance of a Ship, would have also perished.

I must candidly acknowledge that the Narrative of *Viaud* seemed at first, in the murder of his Negro, so repugnant to the common feelings of Mankind, that I ventured to omit some of the Passage in question: but as the Fact certainly derives credit from what has been above cited, I shall now subjoin the whole, as it stood in the Original. It is a melancholy Proof how often

our fallen and corrupted Nature descends to the excesses of Brutes, when exposed to severe and unexpected Trials. But still no circumstance that illustrates the real history of MAN ought to be suppressed: and one great object which this NAUFRAGIA has in view, is to record some of the most astonishing of these Facts: My sentiments on such disgusting Cruelty have* already appeared. The Original Passage in VIAUD shall therefore now be subjoined.

" Peu seroient assez justes pour méditer sur mes infortunes, et pour sentir que celles de l'espéce des miennes sont faites pour opérer de grands changemens dans le naturel des hommes, et que les écarts auxquels elles peuvent les livrer, ne doivent pas leur être imputés à crime.

" Aussi-tôt que notre feu fut prêt, j'allai couper la tête du Negre; je l'attachai au bout d'un bâton, et la plaçai devant le brasier où j'eus soin de la retourner souvent pour la faire cuire également. Notre faim ne nous permit point d'attendre que cette cuisson fut entiere, nous la devorâmes en peu de temps; et après nous être rassasiés, nous nous arrangeâmes pour passer la nuit dans ce lieu, et pour nous couvrir des atteintes des bêtes féroces. Nous nous attendions que leur approche nous

* Vol. I. Page 230.

empêcheroit de dormir, et nous ne nous trompâmes point. Nous passâmes la nuit à dépécer par morceaux la chair de notre Negre, à la faire griller sur des charbons, à la passer à la fumée pour la rendre propre à se conserver. Nous restâmes encore le lendemain et la nuit suivante dans le même lieu, pour finir nos préparatifs. Nous ne mangeâmes que ce qu'il étoit difficile de conserver, et que par conséquent nous ne pouvions pas emporter avec nous. Nous fimes plusieurs paquets du reste que nous enveloppâmes dans des mouchoirs qui nous restoient, dans des morceaux de l'etoffe de nos habits, et nous les attachâmes sur nous avec les cordages de * notre radeau."

II. As I have already observed, one essential service which I hoped, in some measure, to render by the publication of these NAUFRAGIA; was to present unto the attention of Mariners, a variety of resources against the perilous Vicissitudes of their Professional Life: and with this idea, I inserted in the first Volume an abstract of a scarce Narrative, written after the manner of CRUSOE, entitled, *The dangerous Adventures, and imminent Escapes of* CAPTAIN RICHARD FALCONER. They form no inconsiderable Coun-

* Page 200.

terpart to the celebrated Romance by De Foe: the same resignation is represented; the same industrious resources to preserve Life; and, in some passages, the * same ideas have occurred to both Writers. It has never been considered as an authentic Narrative throughout; but as one, in which real Facts have been combined, and the Disasters to which the Shipwrecked are exposed, have been provided against, with considerable ingenuity. Falconer has in consequence been much read and admired; and deserved to be noticed, with the Romance of Crusoe, and the beautiful, though perhaps equally fictitious Story, which *Alcaforado* has preserved, or imagined, of ROBERT A MACHIN. In the first Volume of the NAUFRAGIA, I thought that these celebrated efforts of Literary Genius, which had arisen out of the very subject my Work professed to treat of, would render it more interesting, and prove not unacceptable even to the professional reader.

Mr. Isaac Reed informs me, that the Author of *Falconer* was CHETWOOD, a Prompter at Drury Lane, who was also a Bookseller.

III. In the present Volume, the Reader's Attention will be directed exclusively to the NORTH

* Vol. I. Page 276.

POLAR OCEAN. The greater part of the Narratives are extremely scarce, and in general but little known. They will serve to illustrate the geographical history of the 16th and 17th Centuries, and will recal the labours of *Sir Hugh Willoughby*, of *Frobisher*, of *Baffin*, of *Hudson*, and of *James*, to the recollection and gratitude of their Countrymen. The annexed Chart by *Arrowsmith* will also correct many Hydrographical Errors that have hitherto prevailed.

Captain *Stevenson*, of the Royal Navy, has my sincere thanks for the trouble he was so obliging as to take, in rescuing a very interesting account of a Chinese Shipwreck from oblivion. Owing to some inadvertency, his M.S. has not reached me; and I have only heard of its fame by report. I also return my thanks to another naval Officer, who has promised to endeavour to procure me the Loan of the Shipwreck, which Admiral Sir *Erasmus Gower* some Years since endured; and of which, the account was drawn up by himself.

The remaining Volumes of NAUFRAGIA will be published, as soon as the literary avocations in which I am engaged will admit. As the subsequent Pages of the present one, display under various points of view, the dreary but sublime Scenery of the North Pole; I cannot better

prepare the minds of my Readers for the contemplation of those vast and watery Deserts, than by closing this Preface with the much admired Passage from M. ACERBI's Travels:

"The vast expanse of the Frozen Ocean opened to our left; and we arrived at the extremest point of Europe, known by the name of the NORTH CAPE, exactly at Midnight.

"The North Cape is an enormous Rock, which projecting far into the Ocean, and being exposed to all the fury of the Waves and the outrage of Tempests, crumbles every Year more and more into ruins. Here every thing is solitary, every thing is steril, every thing sad and despondent. The shadowy Forest no longer adorns the brow of the Mountain; the singing of Birds, which enlivened even the Woods of Lapland, is no longer heard in this scene of Desolation; the ruggedness of the dark grey Rock is not covered by a single Shrub; the only Music is the hoarse murmuring of the Waves, ever and anon renewing their assaults on the huge Masses that oppose them. The Northern Sun, creeping at Midnight at the distance of five diameters along the Horizon, and the immeasurable Ocean in apparent contact with the Skies; form the grand outlines in the sublime Picture presented to the

astonished Spectator. The incessant cares and pursuits of anxious Mortals are recollected as a Dream; the various forms and energies of animated Nature are forgotten; the Earth is contemplated only in its elements, and as constituting a part of the Solar System."

July 1, 1806.

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Observations of the Longitude, Latitude, and the Declination of the Magnetic Needle, at Prince of Wales' Fort, Churchill River.

Having observed the apparent time of an emersion of Jupiter's first Satellite at Fort Churchill, on Saturday the 20th of March last, 1741-2, at 11h. 55m. 50s.

And as the same emersion happened at *London*, by Mr. *Pound's* Tables, compared with some emersions actually observed in England near the same, at 18h. 15m. 10s.

Hence the hoary difference of Meridians between Fort Churchill and *London*, comes out 6h. 19m. 20s.

Which converted into Degrees of the Equator, gives for the distance of the same Meridians 94° 50′.

And several other Observations gave nearly the same difference of Longitude.

The Variation of the Magnetic Needle, or Sea-Compass, observed at *Churchill* in 1725, as in No. 393 of the Philosophical Transactions for the months of *March* and *April*, 1726, was at that time North 21° Westerly, and this Winter Capt. M. carefully observed it at the same place, and found it no more than 17°; so that it has differed about 1° in four years; for in 1738, he observed it here, and found its declination 18° Westerly.

JOYCE GOLD, PRINTER, SHOE LANE, LONDON.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

SECTION I.

HISTOIRE DES NAUFRAGES; *ou Recueil des Relations les plus intéressantes des Naufrages, Hivernemens, Délaissemens, Incendies, Famines, et autres Evénemens funestes sur Mer; qui ont été publiées depuis le quinzieme siecle jusqu'à present.* Par M. D.... Avocat. (Three Volumes, 8vo.) Paris. Chez Cuchet, An 3me. de la Republique.

AS it is the intention of the Editor of the NAUFRAGIA to give his readers, in some degree, a general idea of every thing relative to that subject which this Work has in view, and to direct their attention to what has been already published in the same line by other Writers; he has prefixed to the second volume an account of the HISTOIRE DES NAUFRAGES: A work of considerable merit, which its author declares was the fruit of more than twenty years labour, in a variety of Libraries, and parti-

cularly in one that was very complete in books of Voyages, which he himself possessed.

In order to give due value to the researches of this Foreigner, the Editor of the present Work endeavoured to form its plan in such a manner, as might best incorporate his labours with those of his predecessor, and might render their two Collections worthy of being placed on the same shelf; each possessing a particular and separate claim on the attention of Literary Men, and the Public in general: and, with this idea, he resolved to take nothing from the HISTOIRE DES NAUFRAGES, but what were Translations from the English.—As many Readers may not have an opportunity of perusing the above-mentioned RECUEIL, the following remarks on the first Volume are subjoined, with the Contents of the two others.

The FIRST VOLUME, ornamented with two engravings, contains such Shipwrecks, *Hivernemens*, and other similar Narratives, as were found in Voyages to the Northward, either on account of the Whale Fishery, or in search of a northern passage to the East Indies. This Division commences with the Journal of JAMES HEEMSKERKE Commander, and WILLIAM BARENSZ Pilot; and is entitled, *The loss of a Dutch Vessel, and the Wintering of its Crew on the Eastern Coast of Nova Zembla, during the years*, 1596, and 1597. This Relation is given by GIRARD LE VEER, in the "*Vraie*

Description des trois Voyages de Mer, faits par le Nord, vers les royaumes de Catay et de China: Amsterdam, 1600, folio." The Author of the *Histoire des Naufrages*, has merely copied the abstract which *Prevost* gave in his Hist. des Voyages, (15 Tome, Page 111.) if we except the addition of a few lines, at the beginning, and at the conclusion of the Narrative. CONSTANTIN has given the most complete account, in his valuable "*Recueil de Voyages enterpris pour l'Etablissement de la Compagnie Hollandoise dans les Indes Orientales*, ten Volumes, 12mo. Rouen. (Tome 1. Page 86.") He styles it, "*Troisieme Voyage des Hollandois et des Zelandois par le Nord.*" There is also an abstract of this Voyage by Forster, in his History of the Discoveries made in the North. (Eng. Translation, 4to. Page 417.) He styles the Commander, *Jacob von Heemskerk*. But the best, and most ample English Translation is given by *Purchas* in his third Volume. (Page 482—521.) In the principal church of Amsterdam, the most remarkable Monument as Mr. Forbes describes it, in his recent letters from France, is that of Admiral Heemskerk: he was killed in an Engagement before Gibraltar, in the Year, 1607, and a concise Latin inscription upon this Monument contains his Eulogy.

The Narrative consists of their combats with the Bears, and the severe hardships which for

nearly ten months they endured in their Hut from Cold; and on their return, in two wretched Boats, *la Chaloupe*, *et la Scute*, to the harbour of *Kola*, a Russian Town near the Frozen Ocean. Only thirteen survived. The use of the cold Bath, was found very beneficial; and they obtained relief from the Scurvy, on their course to Kola, by eating quantities of Bistort, or Cochlearia, which they found on a small island.

One Event occurred during their miserable abode in *Nova Zembla*, which employed the abilities of the elder CASSINI to explain; and this was, the appearance of the Sun, as seen by some of them on the 24th of January, fourteen days sooner than the opinion of Astronomers would admit. CASSINI* endeavours to solve the difficulty, by saying, that what these Navigators considered to be the Sun, was only a *Parhelion*, or mock Sun; a Meteor, which according to *Mariotte*, is formed from particles of Ice floating in the Air.

The leading fault which must ever pervade all French Narratives of the distress, and hardships of the shipwrecked Mariner; is the total want of expressions in that language, to con-

* Memoires de l'Academie des Sciences, 1693, Page 167, 169. See also the *Recueil* by *Constantin*, (Tome 1. Page 136.) Who informs us, that they consulted the Ephemerides of *Joseph Scala*, from 1589—1600, printed at Venice; and had taken the precaution, when their Watches failed them owing to the extreme cold, to use a sand Glass of twelve Hours.

vey ideas consistent with the simplicity, if I may so express myself, of the scene described. The crew of a Ship is but wretchedly designated by the term *Equipage*; nor does the Mind retain a distinct idea of the lonely and sad situation of a few deserted Mariners, whom the writer styles, according to the phraseology of his Country, *Tout le Monde!* But to exemplify this still more by a passage, in which the French Author endeavours to represent the wretched situation of a Seaman, whom his Shipmate beheld devoured by a Bear—it almost borders on the burlesque. "Le 6 de Septembre, 1595, dit Girard le Veer, quelque Matelots retournèrent à l'île des Etats, pour y chercher une sorte de pierres crystallines, dont ils avoient déja recueilli quelques-unes. Pendant cette recherche, deux de ces Matelots étant couchés l'un auprès de l'autre, un Ours blanc fort maigre s'approcha doucement d'eux, et en saisit un par la nuque du cou. Le Matelot ne se defiant de rien, s'ecria, *Qui est-ce qui me prend ainsi par derriere?* Son Compagnon, qui tourna la tête, lui dit, *O mon cher ami! c'est un Ours!* et se levant vite, il prit sa course, et * s'enfuit."

Constantin informs us by a note in his excellent account of this Voyage, that the *Biére joppe de Dantkic*, which Heemskerk was provided with;

* Histoire des Naufrages, Tom. 1. Page 75.

was a strong medicinal drink, *faite avec des grate-cas d'eglantier*, or what we call Hips.

II. The second Article, which is termed, *The Desertion of eight English Sailors on the coast of Greenland, in* 1630, is given in an imperfect manner. It is therefore re-printed in the present Volume, from the copy that was inserted in the fourth Volume of Churchill's Collection of Voyages. The simplicity of the composition, and the interesting reflections which occur; all of which are omitted by the French Translator, will give it a particular claim on the feelings of my Countrymen. This is without exception the most beautiful Narrative I ever perused.

III. The succeeding Article is also inserted in the present Volume. *The Wintering of an English Vessel, commanded by Captain Thomas James, in the Island of Charlton, at the extremity of Hudson's Bay, in* 1631, *and* 1632: for although the French Writer has done it more justice, he has made some injudicious retrenchments. PREVOST takes a short, and apparently, an unwilling notice of this Voyage, in the fifteenth Volume of his * *Histoire;* and wishes to insinuate, that JAMES did not possess sufficient experience in the Northern Seas, for such an Expedition. He is however obliged to acknowledge in a Note, that the use which the celebrated † BOYLE has

* Page 150. † In his History of Cold: see the Appendix.

made of this Narrative, *a donné un grand relief au Journal de James.*

One of the principal injudicious retrenchments, consists in omitting every thing that marks with so much interest, in the original, the fervent piety and resignation of Captain JAMES: the orthography of names, as usual, is seldom attended to; and Captain JAMES's opinion respecting the Cause of the abundance of Ice, which he met with, and his observations respecting a Passage through the Northern Seas to the *East Indies*, are not even noticed by a single Line. Towards the close, the Translator leaps at random over the most interesting passages; and seems in a much greater hurry than our indefatigable countryman, to conclude the Voyage. The whole of the original Journal is extremely interesting, and admirably detailed. Perhaps its simplicity was lost on the French Editor.

IV. *The Journal of the voluntary Exile of seven Sailors, who offered themselves to pass the Winter in the Island of St. Maurice, in Greenland, where they expired in the Month of May*, 1634.

The French Translator of this melancholy Journal, has by no means done it justice, and even sometimes does not seem to understand the Original. However, as it is inserted in his *Histoire*, I have omitted it. The curious Reader will find an excellent Translation of it from the Dutch, in

Churchill's* Collection, with the following Introduction:

To the Reader.

"It having pleased God, the Creator and Preserver of the Universe, by whose uncontroulable will, the counsels of men are governed; to influence the committee of the GREENLAND COMPANY, to take a resolution of making the most exact inquiry that could be, concerning the true condition of the Countrey of Greenland, during the Winter; concerning the Nights there, and other curious Observations, disputed among the Astronomers; it was resolved—To select seven of the boldest and ablest Seamen out of the Fleet, who for that purpose should tarry there all the Winter: Which Resolution being published, the following seven offered themselves for that Service, and were accepted of accordingly: *Outgert Jacobson*, of Grootenbrook, their Commander; *Adrian Martin Carman*, of Schiedam, Clerk; *Thaunniss Thaunissen*, of Shermerhem, as Cook; *Dick Peterson*, of Veenhuyse; *Peter Peterson*, of Harlem; *Sebastian Gyse*, of Delfts-Haven; and *Gerard Beautin*, of Bruges.—These Seven being left, 1633, by their own choice in the Isle of St. Maurice, in Greenland, the Dutch Fleet set sail from thence the 26th of August, and the Seamen left us the following account."

Vol. 2. Page 367.

The whole of this Address is omitted in the French *Histoire;* and as the conclusion of the Journal is almost as little attended to, it is here subjoined:

"The 31st *(April)* was a clear sun-shiny day, with the same N.E. wind: [*Die*] Memorandum. This word *Die*, was the last, questionless he writ, intending probably to set down afterwards his Observation concerning the Night, according to his usual way. This person being one, who, according to the report of others, had learned to write of the other six, he writ as long as he was able, viz. to the last day of April; when perhaps, being seized by a fainting fit, he was forced to retire to his Cabin, where he delivered up his soul to his Creator, as will appear more fully by the following additions:

"Among all the Ships that were sent the next year from Holland to *Greenland*, those of Zealand being the first that came in sight of the Isle of *St. Maurice;* some of the Seamen being eager to know what was become of their Comrades, went ashore in a Boat; striving who should be the first to come to their Huts: though by their not appearing upon the Sea Side, they did not presage any good to themselves. They no sooner entered the Hut, but they found they were not deceived in their guess; every one of the poor Wretches left there last year, lying dead in their Cabins: the news whereof they brought to their Commander.

"The first of these seven unfortunate fellows, died the 16th of April, 1634, whom they had put in a coffin, and deposited in one of the Huts: the other six died in the beginning of May, as we believe by the conclusion of the Journal at the end of April.—The before-mentioned Ships of *Zealand* came to an anchor in the bay of *St. Maurice*'s Isle, the 4th of June, 1634. Near one of the dead carcases stood some bread and cheese, upon which probably he had fed not long before his death; another had a box with ointment by his Cabin side, wherewith he had rubbed his teeth and joints, his arm being still extended to his mouth, there also was a Prayer book near him, wherein he had been reading. They were afterwards honorably interred on St. John's day, under a general discharge of the cannon of the whole Fleet."

The Translator cites a judicious passage from CRANTZ, to explain the cause of the terrible noise which the poor Exiles one Night heard. It proceeded from the vast pieces of Ice, the bases of which being thawed by the heat, that in the Spring proceeds from the Earth, become gradually undermined; and separating from the general Mass, roll from rock to rock, with a dreadful report.—A general and succinct account of *Greenland* is subjoined.

V. *Voluntary Exile of seven Dutchmen, who being left to pass the Winter at Spitzbergen, in* 1634, *died there in* 1635.

About the same time that the poor Wretches were left in GREENLAND during the year 1633, the same number were also sent to SPITZBERGEN, who providentially survived. Their melancholy situation was taken, in the ensuing year, by the seven following persons: *Andrew Johnson*, of Middleburgh; *Cornelius Thysse*, of Rotterdam; *Jerome Carcoen*, of Delfts-Haven; *Tiebke Jellis*, of Friseland; *Nicholas Florison*, of Hoom; *Adrian Johnson*, of Delft; and *Feltje Otters*, of Frisland.

This Narrative is very concise, and is rendered with more exactness by the Translator. The whole of the seven perished, more, as it would seem, by scurvy than by any other Effects of Cold. Their Journal thus concludes:

"The 24th of February, 1635, they saw the Sun again, which they had not seen since October the 20th, or 21st in the preceding year. The 26th being the last day, as we guess, they were able to write, and lived not long after: They left the following Memorial behind them:

Four of us, that are still alive, lie flat upon the ground in our Huts. We believe we could still feed, were there but one among us that could stir out of his Hut to get us some Fewel: but nobody is able to stir for Pain. We spend our time in constant Prayers to implore God's mercy to deliver us out of this Misery; being ready whenever he pleases to call us. We are certainly not in a

condition to live thus long without food, or fire; and cannot assist one another in our mutual afflictions, but must every one bear our own burthen.

" When the Ships from *Holland* arrived there in 1635, they found them all dead, shut up close in their Tent, to secure their dead bodies against the Bears, and other ravenous Creatures: This being the Tent of *Middleburgh*, a Baker who got ashore first, happened to come to the back door, which he broke open; and running up stairs, found there upon the floor, part of a dead dog that was laid there to dry; but making the best of his way down again, he trod upon the carcass of another dead dog, for they had two, at the stair foot in the Buttry. From hence, passing through another door, towards the fore-door, in order to open it, he stumbled in the dark over the dead bodies of the Men; whom they saw after the door was opened, altogether in the same place, viz. three in Coffins, *Nicholas Florison* and another, each in a Cabin, the other two upon some Sails spread upon the floor, with their knees drawn up to their chins. Coffins being ordered to be made for the four that had none, they were buried with the other three under the Snow; until the ground becoming more penetrable, they were buried one by another, and certain stones laid upon their Graves, to hinder the ravenous Beasts from digging up their carcasses.

These were the last that pretended to pass the Winter at *Spitzbergen.*"

According to M. *Blaeu*, in his *Atlas Historique*, as cited by the French Editor, the bodies of these poor Sufferers were found twenty years afterwards, by the Crew of a Vessel that touched there, without having experienced the smallest degree of putrefaction: Their cloaths also remained without any apparent decay. To this Narrative the Editor subjoins some account of the Whale Fishery.

VI. *Shipwreck of the English Frigate, the Speedwell, on the western Coast of Nova Zembla, at Point Speedill, in* 1676.

This account of Captain John Wood's Shipwreck in the Speedwell Frigate, is given with more correctness and attention than usual; but as the Editor does not refer to the original Volume, which is now become scarce, he seems rather to have taken his translation from some of the following Works, which he mentions: *Le Recueil des Voyages au Nord, Tom.* 2; *Prevost's Histoire General, Tom.* 15. *Page* 163; and the first volume of *M. de Surgy's Mélanges interessans et curieux.*

Even *Forster*, in his Northern Voyages, omitted to notice the Volume in which CAPTAIN WOOD'S Journal is inserted; and as this has not been reprinted in any of our other Collections, which I have seen, the curious Reader would find some difficulty in discovering the original. It was first published in

an octavo Volume by *Smith* and *Walford*, printers to the Royal Society, during 1694, with the following title: "An Account of several late Voyages and Discoveries to the South and North, towards the Straits of Magellan, the South Seas, the vast Tracts of Land beyond Hollandia Nova, &c. Also towards Nova Zembla, Greenland or Spitsberg, Groynland or Engrondland, &c. by *Sir* JOHN NARBOROUGH, *Captain Jasmen Tasman*, *Captain John Wood*, and *Frederick Marten of Hamburg*: To which are annexed a large Introduction and Supplement, giving an account of other Navigations to those regions of the Globe." In this valuable Introduction, Captain WOOD is styled a most excellent Navigator, who, with *Sir Cloudsly Shovel*, accompanied *Sir John Narborough* to *Chili*. Captain WOOD was afterwards sent by CHARLES THE SECOND, to discover a North East Passage to *China*, and *Japan*, by Nova Zembla, and Tartary; in attempting which this Shipwreck ensued. The Volume, which contains some Maps and many Engravings, is dedicated by the printers to the Honourable S. PEPYS, Secretary to the Admiralty.—The Narration of this Shipwreck, which I have inserted, contains the most interesting part of the Voyage, which is chiefly a Copy of the Log.

VII. *The forsaken condition of four Russian Sailors, on the desert Island of Spitzbergen, in*

1743; *taken from the Journal Encyclopedique du* 15 *Février*, 1775.

This interesting Story is well told; and its authenticity is vouched for, by M. *Klinstadt*, *Auditeur en chef de l'amirauté d'Archangel*, and by *M. le Roi*, Professor of History, and Member of the imperial Academy of St. Petersbourg. A short account of Spitzbergen is subjoined.

VIII. *Shipwreck of the* SAINT PETER, *a Russian Vessel, on the Coast of Beering's Island, in the Sea of Kamtschatka*, 1741, *with a Précis Historique of that Country, and of the Kurile Isles:* Taken principally from *Muller*'s Collection of Voyages, and the Appendix to *Prevost's Histoire.*

This account of the Shipwreck of *Beerings* on the 5th of November, 1741, and of his subsequent death on the 8th of December, is detailed at some length. The English reader will find the whole Narrative in Mr. Coxe's *Russian* Discoveries.

IX. *Narrative of the Shipwreck of an English Brigantine on the Coast of Isle Royale, at the entrance of the Gulph of St. Lawrence, North America, in* 1780.

For the insertion of this scarce and most interesting Journal by *S. W. Prenties*, Ensign of the 84th Regiment of foot, I have to acknowledge the kindness of Isaac Reed, Esq. a Friend, to whom the reader will find me often indebted in the course of these Memoirs. The first Edition of Mr. *Prenties*'s Journal was printed at London in 1782: and, in

the course of eighteen Months, five Editions were published. It was thus noticed in the Monthly Review for August, 1782.—" The resources to avoid Cold, and sustain Life, amidst this Scene of Wretchedness, almost realize the Fictions of De Foe, in his *Robinson Crusoe;* and probably exceed the contrivances of Alexander Selkirk, the genuine Hero of that admired Story. The present Narrative is very interesting. It is related with moderation and good sense. The author hath given us a striking example of unshaken fortitude; and, at the same time, hath displayed a fertility of invention, more particularly conspicuous in the most desperate situations."—The first French Translation bears the date of 1785.

Having paid so much attention to the first Volume of the *Histoire des Naufrages*, the limits of this Work will only allow me to notice the contents of the two others.

VOLUME THE SECOND*,

WHICH CONTAINS TWO ENGRAVINGS.

I. Shipwreck of Emmanuel Soza, and Eléonore Garcie Sala his Wife, on the Eastern Coast of Africa, in 1553.

II. Deplorable situation of a French Vessel, Le Jacques, on its return from Brazil to France, occasioned by a dreadful famine, and the bad state

* This Volume has been, if possible, more carelessly printed than the rest.

of the Ship, in 1558.—A Short account of Brazil is subjoined.

III. Shipwreck of a Portuguese Vessel the SAINT JACQUES, with the Flag of Admiral FERNANDO MENDOZA, on the Shoals called Baixos de Juida, at the distance of seventy Leagues from the Eastern Coast of Africa, in 1586.

IV. Shipwreck of two Portuguese Vessels; one, on the Coast of the Island of *Fiurma*, near *Sumatra*, and the other on a desert Isle in the Chinese Sea, at a small distance from *Macao*, in 1605. A short account of *Macao*, and of *St. Helena*, is subjoined.

V. Shipwreck of two English Vessels, the ASCENSION and UNION, the first, on the Coast of *Cambaia* in the Indian Ocean, in 1609; the second on the Coast of Britanny, near *Audierne*, in 1611. With some account of *Surat* and *Madagascar*.

VI. Burning of a Dutch Vessel, the NOUVELLE HOORN, near the Straits of *Sonda*, in the Indian Ocean, with the Adventures of Bontekoé, in 1619; and a short account of the Straits.

VII. Shipwreck of a Dutch Vessel, the BATAVIA, commanded by FRANÇOIS PELSART, on the rocks of *Frédéric Outhman*, near the coast of New Holland, in 1630. A short Note on the *Guzarat* nation is annexed.

VIII. Shipwreck of a Dutch Vessel, the SPARROW-HAWK, on the Coast of the Island of *Quel-*

paert, in the Sea of Corea, 1635. With some account of *Quelpaert* or *Fungma*, and *Corea*.

IX. Shipwreck of a Portuguese Vessel, near Cape *Comorin*, in the Indian Ocean, 1645. Instance of Conjugal Affection. Generosity of some French Gentlemen, and of a Portuguese Viceroy.

X. Shipwreck of a Dutch Vessel, the DRAGON, on the Coast of *Terre Australe* inconnue, in 1658.

XI. Shipwreck of a Dutch Vessel, the COROMANDEL, in the Bay of Bengal, 1660.

XII. Loss of the Long Boat of a French Vessel, LE TAUREAU, in a Bay near Cape Verd, on the Western Coast of Africa, in 1665.

XIII. Shipwreck of a Dutch Vessel, LE LAUSDUN, at the mouth of the *Ganges*, in 1672, with the Adventures of LESTRA, a French Traveller. A short Note on the *Ganges* is subjoined.

XIV. Shipwreck of a Spanish Frigate on the Coast of New Spain, between the Island of *Cagno*, and the Harbour of *Caldera*, in the South Sea, 1678. Published by Lionel Wafer, one of the Companions of *Dampier*. The original will be given in a subsequent Volume.

VOLUME THE THIRD,

WHICH CONTAINS TWO ENGRAVINGS.

I. Shipwreck of OCCUM CHAMNAN, a Siamese Mandarin, on the Cabo *das Aguillas*, at the Southern Extremity of Africa, in 1686. Published

by Father Tachard, a Jesuit, one of the six Mathematicians who were sent by the King to India. With some account of *Siam*, the Country of the *Hottentots*, and the Cape of *Good Hope*.

II. Shipwreck of a Portuguese *Patache*, on a Sand Bank, opposite to the *Isles Calamianes*, in the Indian Ocean, 1688. With an account of the Town and Harbour of *Cavite*, and the *Isles Calamianes*.

III. Relation of the loss of two English Vessels, on some rocks near the Island Mayote, in the Mozambique Channel, 1700. Taken from a Letter of Father Tachard's in the *Troisieme Recueil des Lettres Edifiantes*, Paris, 1713: with an account of *Mayote Maoli*, and the City of Boston in North America. *Father Tachard*, whilst on board a Vessel in the Indian Ocean, which was driven in the course of her Voyage towards the western Coast of the Isle of *Angasie*, found there two Englishmen who had been cast on the Island *Mayote*.

IV. The History of ALEXANDER SELKIRK, a Scotch Mariner, who was left on the Island of Juan Fernandez, in the South Sea, during the year 1704: to which is added some particulars relative to *Will*, a Mosquito Indian, who had been left in the same Island, in 1681. A full account of both was inserted in the preceding Volume.

V. Shipwreck of MADAME LA COMTESSE DE BOURK, on the Coast of Gigery in the Kingdom of

Algiers, with the adventures of MADEMOISELLE DE BOURK, *in* 1719. LE COMTE DE BOURK was an Irish Officer in the Spanish Service, who had been appointed Ambassador Extraordinary from the Court of Madrid to Sweden. The Countess was the daughter of the MARQUIS DE VARENNE. This interesting Narrative is inserted in a Voyage made to *Algiers* and *Tunis*, *par M. Dusault*, Paris, 1720; and also in the *Histoire des Etats Barbaresques*, *Paris*, 1757. It was also new modelled under the title of, *La Belle Captive*, *ou Histoire du Naufrage et de la Captivité de Mademoiselle* ADELINE, *Comtesse de Saint Forget*, *âgée de* 16 *ans*, *dans une partie du royaume d'Algier*, *en* 1782, *petit in* 12. A short note on the Territory of Gigery is subjoined.

VI. Loss of an English Ship, the PEMBROKE, in the roadstead of St. David, on the Coast of Coromandel, 1749.—This Narrative appeared on the Continent, in the *Memoires du Colonel Lawrence sur le guerre dans l'Inde*, *entre les Anglois et les François*, *depuis* 1730, *jusqu'en* 1761. *Amsterdam*, 1766, 2 *Vols. in* 12. The Pembroke had been attached to the Fleet under Admiral Boscawen. Subjoined is a *Precis Historique sur les Marrattes.*

VII. The Loss of a French Vessel, LE PRINCE, de la Compagnie des Indes, which was burnt on her passage *from l'Orient to Pondicherry*, 1752.

Taken from an account published at Nantes by M. de la Fond, in 1753. This dreadful Story, which is illustrated by an Engraving, is well narrated.

VIII. Shipwreck of the Doddington, an English East Indiaman, on a rock between the Cape of Good Hope and Madagascar, on the 17th of July, 1755. —This Translation was inserted by *Barrow*, 1766, in the twelfth Volume of his *Histoire des decouvertes faites par les Européens, dans les differentes parties du monde.* An account is subjoined of *Terre de Natal*, *Bombay*, and *Madras;* the first taken from *Woodes Rogers*, and *Dampier.*

IX. Shipwreck of the Sloop BETSEY, CAPTAIN P. AUBIN, on the coast of Dutch Guiana, in South America, 1756, from the account by Captain Aubin, inserted in the Journal Anglois, (N° 18,) 30 Juin, 1776, *Paris, chez Ruault.* The BETSEY sailed from Carlisle Bay, *Barbadoes*, on the 1st of August; she was a Bermudian sloop, built of Cedar, laden with Provisions; and had been freighted by M. M. *Rosco* and *Nyles.* Some remarks on the Caribs are subjoined, with a short account of Captain Aubin, and a description of the *Antilles.*

X. Shipwreck of an English Vessel, the FATTY-SALAM, on the Coast of Coromandel, 1761, with the Adventures of M. de Kearny. This Narrative, in the form of a Letter, was addressed by M. DE KEARNY, a Captain in Lally's Regiment, to M.

le Comte d'Estaing. It was published at *Paris* by *Duchèsne*, in 1763.

XI. An account of an extraordinary scarcity of Provisions, on board an American Vessel, THE PEGGY, Captain David Harrison, during her return from the Açores, to New York, in 1665. Taken from the London Papers. With some short Notes on *New York*, and the *Açores*.

XII. A Narrative of the tragical Adventures of MADAME DENOYER, a Creole of Cape François; who was abandoned on the wide Ocean in an open boat, with her two infant Children, and a Negro, by two Englishmen after they had assassinated her husband, between the *Lucayes* and *Cuba*, 1766. Taken from " La Relation des nouveaux Voyages, faits dans l'Amerique septentrionale, par M. Bossu, 8°: 1777."—This surprising account, like the sufferings of VIAUD in my former Volume, has attestations of its veracity subjoined; but I hope for the honour of my Countrymen, that at least the facts, if they are so, are heightened. An Engraving is given, with Notes on *St. Domingo* and *Louisiana*.

XIII. Shipwreck, and tragical Adventures of Madame GODIN DES ODONOIS, on the banks of the River of the Amazons, in 1769. This extraordinary Account, which is given in a Letter from M. Godin des Odonois, to M. de la Condamine, is noticed by Dr. Robertson in his History of Ame-

rica. It was printed at Paris towards the end of the Year 1773. Annexed are some Observations on the *River of the Amazons*, called also the *Maragnon*.

XIV. Shipwreck of an English Vessel, the UNION, on a Sand-Bank off the Isle DU RHE, Golfe de Gascogne, 1775: from a Letter written by M. Widebourg, a Lieutenant of the Hanoverians, dated from St. Martin in the above-mentioned Island, December the ninth, and inserted in the Frankfort Gazette.—A Note on the *Isle du Rhé*, is subjoined.

XV. Shipwreck of a French Vessel LE DURAS, in the Indian Ocean, near the *Maldives*. This melancholy Narrative displays the fortitude of a young female Heroine; and though short, is very interesting. It was published originally in the 37th and 38th numbers of the *Journal de Paris*, for the Year 1778. Some account of the MALDIVES is annexed.

XVI. Shipwreck of a French Vessel near the Piers of the Harbour of Dieppe, in 1777. Heroism of the Pilot Boussard, who was surnaned *le Brave Homme*, by *Louis the sixteenth*. Taken from the *Journal de Paris* 1778, and 1779; from the *Annales du dix-huitième siecle* par M. LINGUET, (1777, Tom. 3) and an interesting Work by BERENGER, entitled "Le Peuple instruit par ses propres Vertus," (1787, Tom. 2.) A short Note

on *Dieppe* is added. The following is the letter which M. NECKER addressed to the noble minded *Boussard*, by order of his Sovereign.

BRAVE HOMME, Paris, Dec. 22, 1777.

Je n'ai su qu'avant-hier, par M. l'Intendant, l'action courageuse que vous avez fait le 31 Août, et hier j'en ai rendu compte au Roi, qui m'a ordonné de vous en témoigner sa satisfaction, et de vous annoncer de sa part une gratification de mille francs, et une pension annuelle de trois cens livres. J'ecris en conséquence à M. l'Intendant. Continuez à secourir les autres, quand vous le pourrez, et faites des vœux pour votre bon Roi, qui aime les braves gens et les récompense.

(Signé) NECKER,
Directeur Géneral
des Finances.

SECTION II.

Iceland, Greenland, Spitzbergen, Nova Zembla, *and* Baffin's Bay.

AS the Narratives presented to the reader in this Volume, are chiefly confined to the North Polar Regions, I have inserted the following illustration of their geographical History, which is not generally known.

In the collection of Voyages, printed by assignment, from Messrs. Churchill, two curious Letters are * inserted from Mons. la Peyrere, respecting *Iceland*, and *Greenland:* the first dated from Copenhagen, 1644, and the other from the Hague, 1646.

§ I. ICELAND.

Iceland, says this writer, lies in 13° 30′ longitude, (probably reckoned from *Ferro*,) and 65° 44′ latitude; according to the elevation taken in the bishoprick of *Hole*, the most northern part of the Isle, as *Angrim Jonas* tells us in his † *Crimogea*; adding, that he had the same of *Gundebrand de Thorlac*, Bishop of *Hole*, his familiar Friend, and once a disciple of the famous Astrono-

* Vol. ii. page 383.

† Printed at Hamburgh, in 1609. His *Specimen Islandicum* appeared at Amsterdam in 1643.

mer *Tycho Brahe.* It was generally believed to be twice as large as the Isle of *Sicily:* was formerly reputed fertile in Wheat, and well stored with wood, fit for the building of large Ships. The roots being of a vast bulk, were at that Day found underground, where those Forests stood, and were as black as ebony Wood.

The Country, he adds, is stony and mountainous, and the Pastures good: it is full of clear and fine Springs, some of which are mentioned as having a nourishing quality like Beer. They have hot Springs, and many brooks, and navigable Rivers. At a place called *Turleskhaven*, two Springs are mentioned by *Angrim Jonas*, one very cold, and the other excessive hot. The Island abounds in Brimstone, particularly in the neighbourhood of *Mount Hecla;* which, according to *Blefkenius*, sometimes sends forth whole torrents of a sulphureous liquor, that burns like Spirits of Wine.

The last-mentioned Author thus explains that vulgar Error, which induced our earliest Mariners to imagine, they could purchase a favourable Wind from the *Icelanders*: "The Iseland Seamen being very expert in discerning in the Evenings, by the disposition of the Air, what Wind is likely to blow the next day; which if they find suitable to the wish of such Strangers as lie ready to sail, near the shore, they pretend to sell them; cover the deceit thus: they ask the Stranger to give them his Handkerchief; which done, they pretend to mutter

certain Words into it, and immediately after, tie it into Knots, for fear the Words should evaporate into the Air. Afterwards, they return the Handkerchief thus knotted, with a strict charge to keep it thus with extraordinary care, till he arrives in the desired Port. Sometimes it happens, that the Wind proves according to wish, but much oftener it proves quite otherwise. So soon as the poor Stranger is got out to Sea, if he be overtaken by a Tempest, he is put to no small nonplus what to do, imagining that he carries the devil in his pocket; and consequently thinking it a point of conscience to keep it, is unwilling to part with it. If, adds *Angrim*, once in a great many times, the Wind proves according to what the Islander has foretold the Stranger, this is a sufficient precedent, in opposition to many other experiments made to the contrary; the Person who fancies to have bought this Wind, not failing to tell it wherever he comes, *That with the assistance of the Wind he purchased in Iseland, he was happily carried to the desired Port.*"

ICELAND was in ancient Times divided into four Provinces, according to the four Corners of the World; and these were subdivided into three bailliages called *Kepes*, except the Northern Province, which being the most considerable, had four bailliages, each of which was again subdivided. Each bailliage had three principal *Pagodes*, or Pagan

Temples, for the administration of Justice, and Devotion. The aristocratical form of Government continued until A. D. 1263; when the Kings of *Norway* conquered the island. Upon the subjection of that Kingdom to Denmark, *Iceland* was governed by Danish Viceroys. Christianity, according to * *Angrim Jonas*, was introduced A. D. 1000.

It appears from their Annals, the *Icelanders* were at one time so formidable at Sea, that both the Kings of *Denmark* and *Norway* were jealous of their Naval Power. *Angrim Jonas* is of opinion, that Iceland was first discovered by one *Naddocus;* who, as he was going to the Isles of *Faro*, was cast by a tempest on the Eastern part of *Iceland*, unto which he gave the name of *Sneeland*, or *Snowland*. The next who went in search of this Island, was a Swede named *Garderus;* who, from the report of *Naddocus*, found it, and landed there in the Year 864; and having spent the Winter on the Island, called it *Gardersholm*, or *Garders Isle*.—But the true founder of the Icelanders, was a certain Baron of *Norway*, Ingulph; who with his brother in law *Hiorleifus*, having killed two of the most

* Adam of Bremen, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, makes it later, 1070. The Kristni-Saga, or the history of the first introduction of Christianity into *Iceland*, was printed at Copenhagen in 1773, from the MSS. of Professor *Arnas Magnæus:* Thorlac, Bishop of *Skalaholt*, had also published an Edition of it, in the preceding Century. This Manuscript narrates the Ecclesiastical history of Iceland from 981 to 1121.

powerful Men of his Country, was banished, and first landed on Iceland in the Year 870; but did not settle there until four years afterwards, in 874. Casaubon thinks that *Iceland* was the *Thule* mentioned by Strabo; but Heylin is of a different opinion.

The whole Island, according to *M. la Peyrere*, had no more than two Villages, *Holè* and *Schalholt*, the Seats of two Bishops. The Natives are great Chess players, and were so famous for their * Poetry among the neighbouring Nations, that it was generally believed a certain magic was concealed in their verses.

The English Fishery for Cod on the Coast of ICELAND is very ancient; since by a †decree of Henry the Fifth, in 1415, the Sheriffs of London are enjoined to make proclamation—"That none of our Subjects do, for one Year to come, presume to resort to the Coasts of the Isles belonging to Denmark and Norway; more especially to the *Isle of Iceland*, on the account of Fishing, or any other reason, to the prejudice of the King of Denmark, *otherwise than has been anciently customary:*" And the same prohibition was sent to the other Ports of England.

Two excellent ‡ Histories of ICELAND have been

* This has been ably illustrated by the *Hon. Mr. Herbert.*

† Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. ix. page 322.

‡ See also *Mallet's* Northern Antiquities. The ISLANDS LANDNAMABOK, or an account of the first Inhabitants of Iceland, which was printed in quarto at Copenhagen in 1774;

published; one by M. *Anderson* a Burgo-master of Hambro', and the other by M. * *Horrebows*, a learned Dane, who was sent thither by his Sovereign in 1750; and, in his History, corrected many of the errors of his predecessors. According to the latter, the length of Iceland from East to West may be computed at 720 English Miles, and its breadth at 300. He describes the face of the Country as covered with rocks and craggy Mountains, and the coast as environed with small Islands and rocks.

Purchas, in his third † Volume, notices *Dithmar Blefkens'* Voyages, and Historie of *Island* and *Groenland*, published in 1607:—from which the following is an Extract: "In the yeere 1563, two Hamburg Merchants Ships determined to sayle to ISLAND. The Mariners, by an ancient Custome, desirous to haue a Minister of God's word with them—this office was bestowed vpon me; which I vndertooke the more willingly, because I had a longing desire to know strange

though curious as an ancient MS. is not much esteemed as an history.—The literary History of Iceland was published by *Haldan Einari* at Copenhagen, in 1777.

* An English Translation was printed in 1758.

† Page 643. See also in *Hakluyt*, "*Briefe Commentarie of Island: wherein the errors of such as haue written concerning this Island, are detected, and the slanders and reproches of certaine strangers, which they haue vsed ouer boldly against the people of Island are confuted*: By ARNGRIMUS JONAS of Island." (Vol. i. p. 550.)

things and diuers Countries, yeelding to their perswasion. Taking Ship therefore the tenth of Aprill, wee sayled upon the Coast of England, and Scotland, and passing beyond the *Ilands Orcades*, in number fifteene, whereof the most part lye vnmanured for the barrenesse ; the fourteenth of June we descryed *Island*, which seems afarre off, like winter Clouds.

" I will draw the descent of this Nation from their first Originall, following the truth of the *Iseland* Chronicles. In the Yeere of Christ 900, in the time of *Alebrand* Bishop of *Breme*, certayne of the Nobilitie of East *Frisia*, and of the Countrey of *Breme*, desirous to discouer strange Countries toward the North, set sayle from *Weser*, and passing beyond the *Orcades*, found this Iland almost in the vtmost skirts of Europe, yet habitable, but full of Snow : whieh they ealled *Iseland*, for the coldnesse and roughnesse thereof. And when they had sayled further towards the North about two hundred leagues, they found another Iland ; which, by contraries, they named *Groneland*. Endeauouring to sayle further towards the North, through the frozen or congealed Sea, being long hindred by the Ice, at length with great labour getting out, they fell into whirle-pooles of the Sea, and thick Darknesse.

" In these Whirle-poolcs and Darknesse, this Fleet, one onely Ship exeepted, perished. They

that were preserued, after many long labours and perils, sayling through the *Tartarian* Sea, came into a very hote Countrey; and entring into a large Bay, they went on Shoare vpon the next Land. And when the Inhabitants had hid themselues in secret places, by reason of the great heate, and scorching of the Sunne, they saw Gold, and other precious things set heere and there, without a guard. And when they had carried away asmuch as they would, and hasted to the Ship, they saw some pursue them with Dogges of strange bignesse. One, who was hindred and laden with a prey that hee could not escape, was torne in peeces of the Dogges. The rest, after long sayling, shunning these whirlepooles, arriued in *Muscouia*, thence by the *Baltick* Sea returning vnto *Breme*, they brought backe these tidings to *Alebrand* the Bishop, with part of the Prey."

In the Letters on *Iceland* by *Von Troil*, during a Voyage undertaken in 1772 by Sir Joseph Banks, many important and striking particulars are narrated; and a Letter from Dr. Bach is inserted, on the Icelandic Scurvy and Elephantiasis, which should be perused by every Navigator who resorts thither. The gentlemen who accompanied Sir Joseph Banks in this Voyage, arrived in *Iceland*, on the 28th of August, 1772; and anchored not far from *Bessestedn*, the dwelling place of the celebrated *Stourlison*.

§ II. GREENLAND.

The same learned Foreigner, *Mons. La Peyrere*, who drew up an account of *Iceland*, sent a relation of *Greenland* to *Mons. de la Mothe le Vayer*. A Description of this Country, with some account of its natural History, and of the rise and progress of the old Norwegian Colonies, was also published at Copenhagen, in 1741, by Bishop *Hans Egede* *, who had been twenty-five Years a Danish Missionary in Greenland.

According to this Writer, Greenland was discovered in the Year 982, by *Erick Raude*, or red. *Pontanus*, in his Danish History, refers its first settlement, if not its Discovery, to the Year 770, and cites as his authority a Bull of Pope Gregory, the fourth. The Successors of *Erick* divided the Country into East and West Greenland.

Greenland was also visited by the Missionary M. *David Crantz*, August the first, 1761: who published an Account of the Country, and its Inhabitants, in 1765, in two Volumes; dated from *Hernnuth*, his place of residence. This valuable Work was translated into English in 1767. He informs us,

* An English Translation of this Work appeared in 1745; and a French and German Translation in 1763: Bishop Egede gives the best account of *Greenland*; and was the first who declared that *Frobisher's Straits* could not be on the Coast of *Greenland*. They are now placed by Mr. Arrowsmith on the northern entrance to *Hudson's Bay*.

that "Greenland reaches from the southernmost point of *Cape Farewell*, and *Statenhook*, in the 59th degree, on the right side north eastward, towards *Spitzberg*, to the 80th degree; and on the left side, opposite to North America, north west, and north, until about the 78th degree. Whether it is an Island, or contiguous with some other Land, has not yet been decided; as no Ship has yet penetrated to the uttermost end towards the north, on account of the Ice. The conjecture of its joining on the east with *Spitzberg*, *Nova Zembla*, and *Tartary*, is pretty well, if not entirely confuted, by the new Discoveries of the *Dutch* and *Russians*. It might be supposed with more probability, that the North West Side borders on *America;* because in the first place, *Davis's Straits*, or rather *Baffin's Bay*, grows narrower and narrower towards the 78th degree north. Secondly, because the Coast, which in other places is very high towards the Sea, grows lower and lower northward. Thirdly, the Tide, which at *Statenhook*, nay even as far up as *Cockin's Sound*, in the 65th degree, rises eighteen feet at the new and full Moon; so decreases in the north above *Disko*, that in the 70th degree it does not rise much above eight feet, and probably loses itself entirely at last. To this may be subjoined, fourthly, The Relation of the Greenlanders (which, however, cannot be much depended upon) namely, that The Strait contracts itself so narrow at last, that

they can go on the Ice so near to the other side, as to be able to call over to the Inhabitants, and that they can strike a fish from both sides at once; but that there runs such a strong Current from the North into the Strait, that they cannot come to one another."

That GREENLAND, in common with the North Polar regions, was visited at a very early period, appears from OHTHERE's interesting report to King ALFRED. This daring Navigator seems to have lived on the northren extremity of Norway: "Being determined to find out, once on a time, how far this Country extended due North, and whether any one lived to the north of the Wastes occupied by the Northmen; he proceeded due North, leaving all the way the waste Land on the starboard, and the whole Sea on the larboard. He was within three days as far North as the Whale-hunters ever go; and then proceeded in this course due North, as far as he could sail within another three days, whilst the Land trended thence due East, even unto the Inland Sea, he knows not how far in that direction. He remembers, however, that he stayed there waiting for a western wind, or a point to the North; and sailed near that Land, as far as he could in four days, where he waited for a due north Wind: because the Land there lies due South, quite to the Inland Sea, he knows not how far. From whence he sailed along the Coast due

South, as far as he could in five days. A great River lies up this Land, and when they had gone some way up this River, they returned, because they could not proceed far, on account of the Inhabitants being hostile. And all that Country was inhabited on one side of this River, nor had *Ohthere* met before with any Land that was inhabited, since he came from his own home. All the Land to his right, during his whole Voyage, was a Desert, and without Inhabitants, except Fishermen, Fowlers, and Hunters, all of which were *Finnas;* and he had a wide Sea to his left. The *Beormas*, indeed, had well-peopled their Country, for which reason *Ohthere* did not dare enter upon it; and the *Terfenna* Land, (Tartary,) was all a Desert, except when it was inhabited by Fishers, and Fowlers" *.

Mons. La Peyrere informs us, from the Danish Chronicle, it appears, that towards the end of the thirteenth Century, the Kings of Norway and Denmark sent Ships to *Greenland;* from the then received opinion, that it abounded in veins of Gold, and Silver, and precious Stones: or perhaps, he adds, "That passage in Job had made some impression upon their mind†—*Gold cometh out of the North!*" The same Danish Chronicle adds,

* Barrington's Miscellanies, Page 460. Forster's Northern Voyages, Page 62.

† Chap. xxxvii. 22. This is a marginal reading in our Version.

"that in former times certain Merchants returned from *Greenland* with great Riches. *Wormius* *, as I remember, told me, he had read in an old Danish Manuscript, that about 1484, in the reign of King JOHN, there were in the City of Bergen in Norway, above forty Seamen living, who sailed every year into *Greenland*, and brought from thence several commodities of great value."

It is singular that the Discovery of GREENLAND should be afterwards lost, even to the *Danes*, for many Years. About 1588, during the reign of Frederick the Second, they attempted to re-discover *Greenland*, and actually sent *Magnus Heigningson*, on that Voyage. Who, after he had wandered and passed through many difficulties, and had made the Land, declared, he was unable to approach it: for as soon as he attempted it, his Ship was imme-

* It was the opinion of *Wormius*, that the *Eskimaux*, and the Inhabitants of Greenland, were one, and the same People. M. *Pauw*, in his Enquiries concerning the Americans, alludes to this, and adds; "That a Danish Missionary, perfectly master of the Greenland Tongue, having taken a Voyage to North America in the Year 1764, penetrated into the Country of *Labrador*, as far as the western Coast of *Davis's Straits*; where on the fourth of September, of that Year, he met with a Company of 200 *Eskimaux*, whom he addressed in the Greenland Tongue, and was perfectly well understood by them. ... It is now no longer doubtful that *Greenland* is a part of the *Terra Firma* of America; and that, consequently, the new World was not first discovered by the Europeans at the end of the 15th Century, but of the eighth: at which time the People of Norway, and Iceland, formed their first settlement in Greenland."—Some Geographers have adopted this idea of M. *Pauw's*; but others, with more reason, are of Opinion, that *Greenland* has no connection with America, but forms a vast North Polar Island, the greater part of which is covered with perpetual Ice.

diately arrested in her course, though under a press of sail, with a great depth of water, and no Ice. He also informed the King, that at the bottom of those Seas were quantities of loadstone, which produced this Effect.

Previous to the above date, (1588;) and notwithstanding the Prohibition of the Law enacted by the *Hans* Towns, that no Discoveries should be carried on in the Northern Seas; our enterprising Countrymen sent a small Squadron of three Ships thither in 1553, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby*, with his Flag on board the *Bona Esperança*. They sailed from *Ratcliffe* on the tenth of May, and proceeding as far as the North Cape, were separated by a Tempest. Sir Hugh being driven to the height of Lat. 77, fell in with an Island, which he called after his own name: thence he sailed North, and N. W. and within eight days afterwards, discovered Greenland. An account of this Voyage was written by himself, and found in his Ship: "as appears," says *Purchas*, "by a Will of *Gab: Willoughby* his kinsman, subscribed by Sir Hugh, which Will I now haue, and keepe as a relike of that worthie Discouerer, and first finder of King

* *Purchas*, Vol. iii. Page 462. See also *Hakluyt*, Vol. i. Page 226—237. The Instructions for this Voyage were drawn up by the Right Worshipful M. Sebastian Cabota, Esq. Governor of the Mystery, and Company of the Merchant Adventurers, for the Discovery of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and Places unknown.—"The true Copie of a Note found written in one of the two Ships," is inserted, by *Hakluyt*, Page 232.

JAMES his New Land :" the name it afterwards went by. Sir HUGH returned into *Lapland*, where he and his Company were frozen to death in the Harbour of ARZINA near KEGOR.—The conclusion of Sir HUGH's melancholy Journal, written in his own hand, is as follows: "The next Day,* being the eighteenth of September, 1553, wee entred into the Hauen, and there came to an anker at six fadoms. This Hauen runneth into the Maine, about two leagues, and is in bredth halfe a league; wherein were very many Seale fishes, and other great fishes; and vpon the Maine wee saw Beares, great Deere, Foxes, with diuers strange Beasts, as *Guloines*, or *Ellons*, and such other; which were to vs vnknowen, and also wonderfull. Thus remaining in this Hauen the space of a Weeke, seeing the yeare farre spent, and also very euille Wether, as frost, snow, and haile, as though it had been the deepe of Winter; wee thought best to winter there. Wherefore wee sent out three Men South south-west, to search if they could find People; who went three dayes journey, but could finde none. After that, wee sent other three Westward foure dayes journey, which also returned without finding any people. Then sent wee three Men South-east three dayes journey, who in like sort returned without finding of People, or any similitude of Habitation."

* *Hakluyt, P.* 236.

FROBISHER, who was ordered by Queen ELIZABETH in 1567 to attempt a N.W. Passage to *India*, brought home a Gold Marcasite which he found on the Land he had discovered; in consequence of which he again sailed in 1577, when he explored the Land to the South of the Strait that bears his name; leading out of *Davis's Strait* westward, into *Hudson's Bay:* As we may infer from *Frobisher's* original Voyage, with the Map annexed, of which not more than three perfect copies are believed to exist. One Copy of this Map engraved on wood, is in the King's Library. *Frobisher*, if he ever made *Greenland*, only saw *Cape Farewell*, which he probably took for *Freezland.* CRANTZ thinks it * probable, that *Sermeliarsok*, or the great Ice Bay between 61° and 62°, was formerly the Straits of *Frobisher.* EGEDE attempted in vain, during 1723, to find them out.—In consequence of the Gold Ore, which *Frobisher* brought home from the newly discovered Coast, by her Majesty named *Meta Incognita*, the unknown Goal, FROBISHER again went out on the 31st of May, 1578. HAKLUYT †, the celebrated Editor of early

*Vol. i. Page 17: See also Page 19.

† Vol. iii. Page 29—96. Instructions for the third Voyage, as drawn up by *Hakluyt*, are preserved, (Page 45.) "Notes giuen to certaine Gentlemen that went with M. *Frobisher* in his North West Discouerie, for their Directions: and not vnfit to be committed to print, considering the same may stirre vp considerations of these, and of such other things, not vnmeete in such new Voyages as may be attempted hereafter."

Voyages, was then on board; and has preserved a correct account of the Hardships they sustained, written originally by * *M. Thomas Ellis.*

"Now seeing I haue entreated so much of the *Judith*, and the *Michael*, I will return to the rest of the other Ships, and will speake a little of the Storm which fell, with the mishaps that we had the Night (July the second, 1578,) that we put into the Yce.

"At the first entering into the Yce in the mouth of the Straights (by the Queen's Foreland) our passage was very narrow, and difficult: but being once gotten in, we had a faire open place without any Yce for the most part, being a league in compass; the Yce being round about vs, and inclosing vs, as it were, within the Pales of a Park: in which place, because it was almost night, we minded to take in our Sailes, and lie a hull all that Night. But the Storm so increased, and the Waues began to mount aloft; which brought the Yce so neere vs, and coming on so fast vpon vs; that we were faine to beare in and out, where we might espie an open place. Thus the Yce comming on vs so fast, we were in great danger, looking euery houre for death. And thus passed

* There is also, *Ibid.* Page 47, "A true Discourse of the three Voyages of Discouerie vnder the conduct of *Martin Frobisher*, General, penned by *Master George Best*, a Gentleman employed in the same Voyages."

we on in that great danger, seeing both our selues and the rest of our Ships so troubled and tossed amongst the Yce, that it would make the strongest heart to relent. At the last, the Barke *Dionyse* being but a weake Ship, and bruised afore amongst the Yce, being so leake that no longer she could tarry aboue the Water, sanke without sauing any of the Goods which were within her. Which sight so abashed the whole Fleete, that we thought verily we should haue tasted of the same sauce: But, neuerthelesse, we seeing them in such danger, manned our Boates, and saued all the Men in such wise, that not one perished, God be thanked.

" The Storme still increased and the Yce inclosed vs, so that we were faine to take downe top, and top Mastes; for the Yce had so inuironed vs, that we could see neither Land, nor Sea, as farre as we could kenne; so that we were faine to cut our Cables to hang ouer boord for fenders, somewhat to ease the Ship's sides from the great strokes of the Yce: some with Capstan barres, some fending off with Oares, some with Planks of two yneches thick, which were broken immediately with the force of the Yce; some going out vpon the Yce, to beare it off with their shoulders from the Ships. But the rigorousness of the tempest was such, and the force of the Yce so great, that not onely they burst and spoyled the foresaid prouision, but likewise so rased the sides of the Ships, that it

was pitifull to behold, and caused the hearts of many to faint.

" Thus we continued all that dismall and lamentable Night, plunged in this perplexity, looking for instant Death: but our God, who neuer leauth them destitute which faithfully call vpon Him, although he often punisheth for amendments sake; in the Morning caused the Winds to cease, and the Fogge, which all that Night lay on the face of the water, to cleare. So that we might perceiue, about a mile from vs, a certain place cleare from any Yce; to which with an easie breath of Wind, which our God sent vs, we bent ourselues: And further more, He prouided better for vs than we deserued or hoped for: for when we were in the foresaid cleare place, He sent vs a fresh Gale at West, or at West South-west, which set vs cleare without all the Yce. And further He added more: for He sent vs so pleasant a Day, as the like we had not of a long time before; as after Punishment, Consolation.

" Thus we joyfull Wights being at libertie, tooke in all our Sailes and lay a hull, praysing God for our deliuerance, and stayed to gather together our Fleete: which once being done, we seeing that none of them had any great hurt, neither any of them wanted, sauing onely they of whom I spake before, and the Ship which was lost; then at the last we hoisted our Sailes, and lay bulting off and on,

till such time as it would please God to take away the Yce, that we might get into the Straights. And as we thus lay off and on, we came by a marueillous huge Mountaine of Yce, which surpassed all the rest that euer we saw: for we judged it to be neere fourescore fathomes aboue water; and we thought it to be a ground for any thing that we could perceiue, being there nine score fathoms deepe, and of compass about half a mile.

"... Then hauing gathered ourselues together, we proceeded on our purposed Voyage, bearing off, and keeping ourselues distant from the Coast till the 19th day of July: at which time the fogges brake vp and dispersed, so that we might plainely and clearly behold the pleasant ayre; which so long had bene taken from vs, by the obscuritie of the foggie Mists; and after that time we were not much encombred therewith, vntill we had left the confines of the Countrey. Then we espying a fayre Sound, supposed it to goe into the Straights betweene the *Queenes Foreland* and *Jackman's* Sound, which proued as we imagined. For our Generall sent forth againe the GABRIEL to discouer it, who passed through with much difficulty: for there ran such an extreme Current of a Tide, with such a horrible gulfe, that with a fresh gale of wind they were scarce able to stemme it. Yet at the length with great trauaile they passed it, and came to the Straights; where they met with the THOMAS ALLEN, the

THOMAS OF IPSWICH, and the *BUSSE of BRIDGEWATER; who altogether aduentured to beare into the Yce againe, to see if they could obtaine their wished Port. But they were so incombred, that with much difficultie they were able to get out againe: yet at the last, they escaping, the THOMAS ALLEN, and the GABRIEL, bare in with the Western Shore, where they found Harbour; and there moored their Ships vntill the fourth of August, at which time they came to vs in the *Countesse of Warwick's* Sound.

"But before I proceed any further herein; to shew what fortune befell at our departure, I will turne my Penne a litle to *M. Captaine Fenton*, and those Gentlemen, which should have inhabited all the Yeere in those Countries, whose valiant mindes were much to be commended: for doubtlesse they had done as they intended, if lucke had not withstoode their willingnesse. For the Barke DIONYSE, which was lost, had in her much of their House, which was prepared and should haue bene builded for them, with many other implements. Also the

* Hakluyt has inserted, (Vol. iii. Page 44) "The Report of *Thomas Wiars* passenger in the EMANUEL, otherwise called the BUSSE OF BRIDGEWATER, wherein *James Leech* was Master, concerning the Discouerie of a great Island in their way homeward, the 12th of September. The Master accompted, that the S. E. Poynt of *Frisland* was from him at that instant, N. W. by N. fifty leagues. They accompt this Island to be twenty-five leagues long, and the longest way of it S.E. and N.W.—The southerne part of it is in the Latitude of 57 degrees, and one second part, or thereabout."

THOMAS OF IPSWICH, which had most of their Prouision in her, came not into the Streights at all; neither did we see her since the Day we were separated in the great Snow, of which I spake before. For these Causes, hauing not their House, nor yet Prouision, they were disappointed of their pretence to tarie, and therefore laded their Ships, and so came away with vs. But before we tooke Shipping, we builded a litle House in the *Countesse of Warwick's Island*, and garnished it with many kinds of trifles, as Pinnes, Points, Laces, Glasses, Kombes, Babes on horsebacke and on foote, with innumerable other such fansies and toyes: thereby to allure and entice the People to some familiaritie against other Yeeres.

" Thus having finished all things, we departed the Countrey: but because the Busse had not lading enough in her, she put into *Beare's Sound* to take in a little more. In the meane while the Admirall, and the rest without at Sea, stayed for her. And that Night fell such an outragious Tempest, beating on our Ships with such vehement rigor, that Anchor and Cable auailed nought: for we were driven on Rockes and Islands of Yce. Insomuch that had not the great Goodnesse of God bene miraculously shewed to vs, we had bene cast away euery man. This danger was more doubtfull and terrible, then any that preceded or went before: for there was not any one Shippe, I thinke, that

escaped without damage. Some lost anchor, and also Cables, some Botes, some Pinnisses; some Anchor, Cables, Botes, and Pinnisses.

"This boystrous Storme so seuered vs one from another, that one Shippe knewe not what was become of another. The Admirall knewe not where to finde the Vice Admirall or Rear Admirall, or any other Shippe of our Company. Our Generall, being on land in *Bear*'s Sound, could not come to his Shippe, but was compelled to goe aboard the GABRIEL, where he continued all the way homeward: for the boystrous blasts continued so extreamely, and so long a time, that they sent vs homewarde, which was God's favour towardes vs, *will we nill we*, in such haste, as not any one of vs were able to keepe in company with other, but were separated. And if by chance any one Shippe did ouertake other, by swiftnesse of sayle, or mette, as they often did; yet was the rigour of the Wind so hidious, that they could not continue Company together the space of one whole Night.

"Thus our Journey outward was not so pleasant; but our comming thither, entering the Coasts, and Countrey by narrow Streights, perilous Yce, and swift Tides, our times of aboade there in Snowe and Stormes, and our departure from thence the 31 of August, with dangerous blustering Windes and Tempests, which that Night arose, was as uncomfortable: separating vs so as we sayled, that not any of vs mette together, vntill the 28 of September

(1578) which daye we fell on the English Coastes, betweene Sylley and the Landes ende; and passed the Channel, vntill our arriuall in the riuer of Thames."

The famous *Ice Glance*, or *Shining Ice*, in Greenland, is thus described by *Crantz**, twelve Leagues from the Colony of Frederic's Hope, in 62°, on a point of firm land: "It is a great high field of Ice, whose glance in the Air may be seen for many leagues at Sea, resembling the Aurora Borealis. The mouth of this Inlet is blocked up in such a manner by many great pieces of Ice driven out by the ebb, that it forms a Phænomenon like an arched Ice Bridge, stretching from Land to Land, for the space of eight leagues in length, and two in breadth, over Islands, and all. The openings or arches of it, are computed to be from fourteen, to forty Yards high. People might pass through them in Boats, if they were not afraid of the fragments of Ice that often fall down. The ebb drives through them into the Sea, the pieces of Ice that come tumbling off the Hills.—When, and how the mouth of this Bay was stopped up, is unknown."

§ III. SPITZBERGEN.

This Cluster of rocky Islands, so called from its Peaked Mountains, consists of a Desert exposed

* Vol. i. Pages 5 and 20.

to extreme Cold. It was thus named by the Dutch, who first arrived here in 1596; but has sometimes also been called OLD GROENLAND. The adjacent Sea produces Whales in the greatest abundance. According to Mr. *Leonin*, a Spaniard, mentioned by *Le Peyrere*, some have been taken of a prodigious size, being no less than two hundred feet long, and of a proportionable circumference.—Near the Shore, the Ice Shoals, which are sometimes sixty, seventy, and eighty fathoms thick, reach to the bottom of the Sea; and these, gradually encreasing by means of fresh Ice-Shoals, rise as high above the surface of the water, as they extend in depth below it. Mr. *Leonin* fixes this Island under the seventy-eighth degree.

An Hambro' Merchant, named *Frederick Martens*, published an account of this remote Country, in his Voyage thither, June the 18th, 1671, which appeared in the Dutch * Collection of Northern Voyages, and in Prevost's *Histoire*. He particularly notices seven Mountains of Ice, of an extraordinary height, which arose in a straight line above the surrounding Rocks, and the Harbours on the Coast, which by the different Nations who resort thither during the Whale Fishery, are called *English Harbour*, the *Magdeleine*, *Zuid Haven*, *Nord Haven*, *Half Moon Bay*, *Bear Haven*, *Liefde*

* Amsterdam, Tom. ii. 1715. *Prevost*, Tom. xv. Page 263

Bay, &c. It is generally believed that the cold is most severe at SPITZBERGEN during the Months of April, and May: but *Martens* found it by no means abated in June. During July and August, but particularly in the former, the heat was very great. It was on the second of August, on his return home, that this Navigator saw the Sun set for the first time, since his arrival in those Seas. Notwithstanding the severity of its long and dreary Winter, SPITZBERGEN produces many beautiful Plants, which are described by *Martens*, particularly the *Cochlearia*, or Scurvy Grass, which though it varies in figure, possesses the same virtues, with the sort that grows in other Countries. In point of taste its leaves are not so acrid. *Martens* found it in great abundance, on those parts of the Rocks which are the least exposed to the East and North Winds. It is in perfection during the Month of July. SPITZBERGEN has also a variety of Animals: there is only one Bird, that always lives on the Shore, about the size of the Lark, which is called *Coureur de rivage*. The English Whale Fishery by the Russia Company, off the Coast of this Island, commenced in 1598. The Dutch, who rather seem to have followed hither as to the priority of discovery, the Mariners of the Port of Hull, long considered SPITZBERGEN, as did our own Countrymen, to be a part of the vast unexplored Region of GREENLAND. From 1598 to

1612, the English possessed this Whale Fishery without a Rival: and in the last Year, when according to some Writers, the Dutch first appeared in these Seas with their Whalers; some of our Russia Company's Ships seized their Bosses, and obliged them to return: claiming the sole right, in consequence of the priority of Discovery by the English, under Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, in 1553. This was afterwards confirmed in 1614, by King JAMES, and in 1636 by CHARLES THE FIRST. But these disputes have since been wisely dropped. The Norwegians, and probably the Biscayners, were after all, the first Whale Fishers in these Icy Regions.

The Hon. Commodore PHIPPS was in the latitude of the South part of SPITZBERGEN, on the 27th of June, 1773, but without any appearance of Ice, or sight of Land. The next day, at night, they saw the Land at ten or twelve leagues distance to the Eastward: their longitude at six being by the Watch 7° 50′ E. On the 29th they stood in close with the Land. The Coast appeared to be neither habitable nor accessible; formed by high, barren, black Rocks, without the least mark of Vegetation; in many places bare and pointed, in other parts covered with Snow appearing even above the Clouds. The Valleys between the high Cliffs were filled with Snow, or Ice. This prospect would have suggested the idea of perpetual Winter,

had not the mildness of the Weather, the smooth Water, bright Sun-shine, and constant Day-light, given a cheerfulness, and novelty, to the whole of this striking and romantic Scene. The Latitude of the Black Point, where they had an opportunity of making several Observations, was found to be 77° 59′ 11″. On the 13th of July, they worked into *Vogel Sang*, where they anchored: the north-easternmost Point is the Clover Cliff. They found the Latitude of the Island to be 79° 50′. Longitude 10° 2′ 30″ E. Variation 20° 38′ W. Dip 82° 7′: Latitude of *Cloven Cliff*, 79° 53′. Longitude, 9° 59′ 30″ E.—*Hakluyt's* Head land, Latitude, 79° 47′, and Longitude, 9° 11′ 30″ E. The state of the Thermometer differed little at Noon, and Midnight; its greatest height being 58½°, and least 51°. From the top of one of the Hills, the Ice appeared several leagues to the N. E. uniform, and compact, as far as the view extended. On *Moffen Island*, which none of the old Navigators have noticed, they found an inscription over the Grave of a Dutchman, who was buried there in July 1771. On the 27th of July, being by reckoning in Latitude 80° 48′, they were stopped by the main body of Ice extending in a solid Line, nearly, E. and W. On the 29th at Noon, the Latitude by observation was 80° 24′ 56″: an opening supposed to be *Waygat's* Straits bore South. On the 10th they crowded Sail, and

having forced their way through the heavy Ice, anchored on the 11th in the Harbour of *Smeerenberg* on the Coast of Spitzbergen.

§ IV. NOVA ZEMBLA.

This Island is now found, from the Discoveries of the Russians, to be bisected by a narrow Strait; but nearly the whole of its Eastern Coast remains unexplored, from the Place (the N. E. Point) where *Heemskerke* and *Barensz* wintered in 1596. Its southern division was formerly known by the name of The *Isle of Weigats*, or *Waygatz*;* a term at present confined to a small Island, at the entrance of those Straits which separate it from *Russia*. Of NOVA ZEMBLA little is known beyond two Capes on its N. W. Coast, *Britwin*, and *Nassau*, so called by the Survivors under *Heemskerke*, and one of its northern Promontories, the point of which has received the name of *Cape Zelanda:* to the Eastward of this, and at the opening of a Bay, three small Islands have been discovered. The Russians, as Mr. Barrington informs us†, not only discovered, but lived several Years in the Island of *Maloy Brun*, which lies between *Spitzbergen* and *Nova Zembla*, and extends from N. Latitude 77° 25′ to 78° 45′. The Northern Point of *Nova Zembla* according

* *Marten*, in his Voyage to *Spitzbergen*, says, that The *Weihgatt*, or *Straits of Hindelopen*, were so called from the word *Weihen* (blowing).

† Miscellanies, *Page 22.*

to the latest Russian Map, is nearly in 77°. M. *le Monier* published a memoir concerning the Longitude of *Nova Zembla*, in the history of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris for 1779.

§ V. NORTH E. AND N. W. PASSAGE.

Respecting a N.E. and a N.W. Passage to the *East Indies*, to explore which, so many Voyages seem in vain to have been undertaken; it may here be observed, and a glance at the Chart prefixed will elucidate the Observation, That the combined enterprize of the Dutch, Russian, and English Navigators, crowned by the diligent researches of *Shaulaurof* in 1761, of *Billings* in 1780, of Mr. *Hearne* in 1771, and of Mr. *Mackenzie* in 1789; have at length opened, (1) The only N.E. Passage, by sailing between *Nova Zembla*, and *Spitzbergen*, and then further Eastward until you pass through *Beering's Straits;* and (2dly,) the only N.W. Passage, by entering *Davis's* Strait, and leaving the doubtful northern limit of *Baffin's Bay**, to stand on through, what *Baffin* terms, *Sir John Lancaster's Sound*, and proceeding to the Westward by the Coast of the *Copper* Indians, and the *Quarrellers*, to double the *Icy Cape*, and pass

* *Hackluyt*, from hints he throws out, appears to have been in possession of the Original Chart by *Baffin;* which, if engraved, would have spread abroad the only light that existed, respecting what has been termed the Northern Coast of *Baffin's* Bay: for this probably was only Ice.

through *Beering's Straits* to the *Indian Ocean.* But probably, in both Instances, the high Northern Latitude and its Perils, would never render it an object to our Merchants, even supposing these Passages should be found clear of Ice; which is not likely to be the case above once in a Century. Lord Mulgrave reached as high in Northern Latitude as 82°, and some Dutch Fishermen are said to have reached the Latitude of 83°. A greater quantity of Ice seems collected round the South Pole, than the North: Captain Cooke could only approach the South Pole to 71° 10′. The curious reader will find many judicious remarks on this subject, in a thin quarto, published by Mr. *Goldson*, on N.W. Passages, and the Straits of *Annian:* And some Observations on the Practicability of a N.E. Passage, were subjoined by Mr. Coxe, to the first edition of his Russian Discoveries.

The Polar Tracts by the *Hon. Daines Barrington*, were first printed for C. Heydinger in 1775, and since, with additions, by Mr. Bowyer's worthy successor, Mr. John Nicholls in 1781. We are there informed of Navigators who had reached to 88°, and of one to 89° 30′. These Seas, according to the Testimony of Captain *Hall*, a Merchant at Hull, are most encumbered with Ice, from about the first of September, to the first of June.

In the second Edition of these Tracts, we find

the following curious Passage: "The Astronomer Royal, who communicated Captain Pickersgill's Journal to the Royal Society, hath informed me by letter, that he had often heard this Navigator express himself, as well assured of a N.W. PASSAGE; adding, that he received accounts of it from the Inhabitants on the side of *Davis's Straits*, and that it was directly N.W. very different from *Baffin's* Track. Captain Pickersgill likewise thought that the best method to find the Passage, was to get out early, before the Ice broke away in the upper part of *Davis's Straits*."

According to the Instances stated by this Author, from 1746 to 1773, it appears, That the Sea to the North of *Spitzbergen* hath been open, so as to permit attempts of approaching the Pole. A Parliamentary reward of 5000*l.* is promised to such of his Majesty's Subjects as shall first penetrate beyond the 89° of Northern Latitude; and by the same Bill, a reward of 20,000*l.* is given to such Subjects, as shall first discover a Communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, in any direction whatsoever of the Northern Hemisphere.

§ VI. BAFFIN'S BAY.

Extract from A true Relation of such things as happened, in the fourth Voyage for the Discouerie of the North-West Passage, performed in the Yeere 1615. *Written by William Baffin.* (Purchas, Vol. iii. Page 840.)

... But if it had pleased *God*, we had performed the action we were bound for, I would not feare but to haue brought so good contentment to the Aduenturers, concerning the true scituation of notable places, that small doubt should haue been thereof: but seeing so small hopes are in this place, I haue not set downe so many Obseruations as otherwise I would.

We lying here inclosed with the Ice with faire and calme Weather, as before is said, till the seuen and twentieth day of June, at euening, at which time we set sayle; the Winde at South-east an easie gale: All the eight and twentieth, and nine and twentieth dayes, we made the best way through the Ice we could; but the nine and twentieth day, the Ice was more open than it had beene these ten dayes before, and at Noone we saw *Salisbury* Island, it bearing due West from us.

The first of *July* close foggie Weather, with much raine, the Winde at South South-east: by Noone this Day we were some three leagues from the

Land, but hauing much Ice by the Shoare, we stood along the Iland to the Northward ; and the next morning we were faire by another small Ile, or rather a company of small Ilands, which afterwards we called *Mill Iland*, by reason of grinding the Ice, as this night we made proofe thereof. At noone, being close to this Ile, we tooke the latitude thereof, which is neere 64 degrees. Here driuing to and fro, with the Ice all this day, till seuen or eight o'clocke, at what time the Ice began to open, and seperate : the Ice, as is said, beginning to open, we had not stood along by the Ice, on the East side thereof, an houre, but the Ice came driuing with the tide of floud from the South-east, with such swiftnesse, that it ouer went our Shippe hauing all our Sayles abroad with a reasonable gale of Winde, and put her out of the streame, into the eddy of these Iles.

This Iland, or Iles, lying in the middle of The Channell, hauing many Sounds running through them, with many points or headlands, encountering the force of the Tide, caused such a rebound of water, and Ice; which ran one way and the stream another; our Shippe hauing met the Ice with the first of the Floud, which put her so neare the Shoare, that she was in the partition betweene the Ice; which the eddy caused to runne one way and the streame the other; where she endured great distresse : But God, which is still stronger than

either Ice, or Streame, preserued vs, and our Shippe, from any harme at all. This continued till towards a high water, which was about one a clocke; then with no small trouble, we got into the Channell, and stood away to the North-westward. After we had past some distance from this Iland, we had the Sea more open than it was since we first put into *The Straits;* and sailed all the next day through an indifferent cleare Sea, with the winde at South-west. But towards eight a clocke at night, we were come againe into much Ice; this Ice being thicker and bigger than any we had beene among. This place where we began to be inclosed againe, is sixe and twenty leagues distant from the small Iland we were at last; and our true course North-west by West: after wee were fast in the Ice we made but small way, yet we perceiued a great Tyde to set to and fro. The next day we sounded, and had ground at one hundred and twentie fathoms, soft osey ground; standing more northerly: the next morning we had ground at eightie fathoms; then the Winde came to the North, and we setting somewhat Southward, had ground at an hundred and ten fathoms. Thus seeing this great abundance of Ice in this place, and the more we got to the North-westward, the shoalder it was; the Ice also being foule and durtie, as not bred farre from shoare; our Master determined to stand to the Eastward, to be certainely informed of the Tide.

The sixt Day in the morning, we brake in a planke and two timbers in our Shippe's bow, which after we had mended, we proceeded for to get to the East side, which we called the North shoare; because it is the Land stretching from the *Resolution*, on the North side of the Straits.

The seuenth day we saw the Land, it being low land, and the Sea is shoald, in respect of other places, hauing ten or twelue fathom about a leagne off from shoare; some thirtie fathoms, fiue or six leagues off shoare; but further off, some twenty or eighteen leagues, there is a hundred or a hundred and fiue fathoms; haning uery good channell ground, as small stones and shells, some twelue or fourteene leagues from shoare, but the further off the more osey: and also here is a very great Tyde runneth to the Northward, which this euening we found to be the Tyde of ebbe: for comming with our Shippe neare the Shoare, about seuen a clocke, we hoysed out our Boate; then I, with fiue other, went on shoare, and found it to be ebbe. We staid on shoare about an houre and a halfe, in which time the water fell about three foote and an halfe, and a South south-east Moone maketh a full Sea, or halfe an houre past tenne, as Sea men account. We saw no signe of People to be here this yeare, but in yeares heretofore there haue beene, as we might well see by diuers places where their tents had stood: And perchance their time of Fishing was not yet

come, there being such great abundance of Ice, as yet.

The eight day the Winde was at West, and the ninth almost calme: we reeking neere to this shoare the tenth day, our Master determined to stand for *Nottinggam's Iland*, to make a triall of the Tyde there. Yet the Winde was at South-west, so that we were forced to turne: but before night it came to the North North-west, so that then we stood away to the Westwards, leauing the search of *Nottinggams Ile;* hauing a great swelling Sea come out of the West with the Winde which had blowne, which put vs in some hope. The eleuenth day, in the morning, we saw Land West from vs, but had no ground at one hundred and thirty fathoms: so standing along by the Land, which here lay about North-west by North, the next morne we were thwart off a Bay: then standing ouer to the Northwards, towards a faire Cape, or Head-land, which we saw, in the afternoone it was almost calme; and being about a league from Shoare, we hoysed out our Boat, and sent some of our men in her, to see what Tyde it was by the Shoare, and from whence it came. They went from the Shippe at fiue a clocke, and came aboard again at eight; who brought vs word, that it was falling water, and that it had eb'd while they were on Shoare somewhat aboue two foot: also they affirmed, that the Floud came from the Northward in this place, the which

we also perceiued by the setting of our Shippe: she setting apace to the Northward, although no whit of winde. Also we might see by the Rocks, that the water was now falne: this put vs in great comfort and hope of a Passage in this place.

Then our Master called this Cape, or Head land, *Cape Comfort*, for the reasons before said; also we had one hundred and fortie fathoms in depth, not a league from the Shoare: and here a South by East Moone maketh a full Sea: the latitude of this Cape is 65 degrees, 00 min.; and 85 degrees, 20 minutes West from London. But this our sudaine comfort was soon quailed: for the next day having doubled the Cape, and proceeded not past ten or twelue leagues: but we saw the Land trending from the Cape to the Westward, till it bare from vs North-east by East; and very thicke pestered with Ice: and the further we proceeded, the more Ice; and the more Northerly, the shoalder water and small shew of any Tyde. At sixe a clocke this afternoone, we sounded, and had ground in one hundred and thirty fathoms, soft Oosy, hauing at noone one hundred and fiftie fathoms.

This was the farthest of our Voyage, being in the latitude of 65 degrees, 26 minutes, and longitude West from London, 86 degrees, 10 minutes: for seeing the Land North-east by East, from vs about nine or ten leagues off, and the Ice so thicke; our Master was fully perswaded, that this was

nought else but a Bay; and so tacked and turned the Shippes head homewards, without any farther search.

The fourteenth day, the Winde was for the most part at South-east, that we could make but small way backe againe; and the next morning very foule Weather, we comming to an Anchor in a small Inlet neere the *Cape Comfort*, on the North-west side thereof; here we found, as on the other side, a South by East Moone to make a full Sea; but from whence the Floud came, we could not well see, it being so foule weather at Sea. In the afternoone the Winde came to North by West; then we waied, and stood along to the Southwards, by the Shoare, with a stiffe gale of Winde, and very hasey. By the sixteenth day at Noone we met with a great quantitie of Ice, lying some few leagues within the point of the Land: among this Ice we saw a great number of Sea *Morse;* not seeing any more in all the Straits but here, and these very fearfull, not suffering a Shippe or Boat to come neere them. By eight a clocke we were come to this Southern Point, which I called *Sea Morse Point;* where we came to an anchor open in the Sea, the better to try the Tyde. Here most apparently we found to all our companies sight, that in this place the Tyde of Floud doth come from the South-east, and the ebbe from the North-west. We weighed, and stood over with a stiffe gale of winde, which continued all this

day; and toward night very foule Weather and a sore storme. By tenne a clocke we were come to anchor on the North-west side of *Nottinggam's Ile*, where are two or three smal Iles lying off from the greater, which make very good Sounds and Harbours. About this Ile we had store of Ice, but nothing as we had heretofore in other places. We staid about this Iland till the seuen and twentieth day, hauing much foule Weather, many stormes, often fogs, and uncertain Windes: many times we weighed anchor to go to that side of the Ile, where this Shippe rode when Captain *Button* was in her: Finding in other places of this Ile, the Tyde of Floud to come from the South-eastward, and the time of high water on the change day, to be at halfe an houre past ten, and not halfe an hour past seuen, as they supposed. In these ten dayes we staid about this Ile, we fitted our Shippe with ballast, and other necessaries, as we had need of.

Then proceeded, as followeth, the sixe and twentieth day, being indifferent faire Weather, we passed between *Salisburies Ile* and *Nottinggams Ile* at the South Point thereof; I meane of *Nottinggam's Ile;* where are many small low Iles, without the which, had beene a fit place for vs to haue anchored, to haue found out the true set of the Tyde. But our Master, being desirous to come to the same place where they had rode before, stood along by this Ile to the Westward, and came to an Anchor

in the eddy of these broken grounds, where the Shippe rode at no certaintie of Tyde.

The seuen and twentieth, the next morning, the Weather proued very foule, with much Raine and Winde: so that our Reger anchor would not hold the Shippe, at eightie fathoms scope, but was driuen into deepe water, that we were forced to set saile; the Winde being at East, and then came to the East North-east, and about noone at North-east still foule weather; being under saile we stood away toward Sea Morse Point. Our Master (as I suppose) was perswaded that there might bee some Passage betweene that point of Land, and that Land which they called *Swan Iland:* so this afternoone we saw both *Sea Morse Point*, and *Nottinggams Iland;* the distance betweene them is not past fifteene or sixteene leagues; bearing the one from the other North-west, and South-east.

The eight and twentieth day in the morning, we were neere to *Sea Morse Point*, the Land trending away West south-west so farre as we saw, and very much pestered with Ice. At seuen a clocke our Master caused us to tacke about, and stood away South-east and by South.

The nine and twentieth, the next day, at eleuen a clocke, we came to Anchor at *Digges Ile*, hauing very foule Weather. At this place where we rode, it lyeth open to the West, hauing two of the greatest Iles breake off the force of the Floud, till

the Tyde be well bent: for after the water were risen an houre and a halfe by the shoare, then would the Shippe ride truly on the Tyde of Floud all the Tyde after. Now the time of high water, on the change day, is halfe an houre past ten or neere thereabout.

The thirtieth day, being faire Weather, we weighed, and stood along close by *Digges Ile*, where we presently perceiued the Saluages to be close on the top of the Rocks: but when they saw we had espyed them, diuers of them came running downe to the water side; calling to vs to come to an anchor; which we would haue done, if conueniently we could. But in this place the water is so deepe, that it is hard to find a place to ride in; which we seeing, lay to and fro with our Shippe; while some of our men in the Boat killed about some seuentie fowles: for in this place is the greatest number of fowles, whom we call *Willocks*, that in few places else the like are not seene. For if neede were, we might haue killed many thousands, almost incredible to those which haue not seene it. Here also as we lay to and fro with our Shippe, we had sufficient proofe of the set of the Tyde: but when our men were come aboard againe, we set all our sailes for homewards; making the best expedition we could: but on the third of August, we were forced to come to an anchor, about thirtie leagues within the *Resolution Ile* on the North Shoare.

The next day we weighed anchor; and the fifth day in the forenoone, we past by the *Resolution Iland*, but saw it not. Thus continuing our Courses, as in the briefe Journall may be seene, with much contrarie Windes and foule Weather.

We had sight of *Cape Cleere* in Ireland, the sixt of September. The next morning by day light, we were faire by *Seely;* and that Night at two a clocke the next morne, we came to an Anchor in Plymouth Sound, with all our men liuing; hauing onely three or foure sicke, which soon recouered.

Baffin's fifth Voyage.

The next Yeere, being againe employed in Discourie, amongst other instructions they receiued this: "For your course, you must make all possible haste to the *Cape Desolation;* and from thence you *William Baffin*, as Pilot, keepe along the Coast of *Groenland*, and vp *Fretum Dauis*, untill you come toward the height of Eightie Degrees, if the Land will giue you leave. Then for feare of inbaying, by keeping too Northerly a Course, shape your Course West and Southerly, so farre as you shall think it conuenient, till you come to the Latitude of Sixtie Degrees. Then direct your Course to fall with the Land of *Yedzo* about that height, leauing your farther sayling Southward to your owne discretion; according as the time of the Yeere, and Windes, will giue you leaue. Although our desires be, if your Voyage proue so prosperous, that

you may haue the Yeere before you; that you goe so farre Southerly, as that you may touch the North part of *Japan*: from whence, or from *Yedzo*, if you can so compasse it without danger, we would haue you to bring home one of the men of the Countrey; and so, God blessing you with all expedition, to make your returne home againe."

To the Right Worshipfull Master John Wostenholme, Esquire, one of the chiefe Aduenturers for the Discourie of a Passage to the North-west.

WORTHY SIR; there neede no filling a Journall, or short Discourse, with preamble, compliment, or circumstance; and therefore I will onely tell you, I am proud of any Remembrance, when I expose your Worth to my Conceit; and glad of any good fortune, when I can auoid the imputation of ingratitude, by acknowledging your many fauours: and seeing it is not vnknowne to your Worship. in what Estate the businesse concerning the North-west hath beene heretofore, and how the onely hope was in searching of *Fretum Dauis*, which if your selfe had not beene the more forward, the Action had well nigh beene left off; Now it remayneth for your Worship to know, what hath been performed this Yeere. Wherefore I entreat you to admit of my custome; and pardon me, if I take the plaine highway in relating the particu-

lars, without vsing any refined phrases, and eloquent speeches.

Therefore briefly, and as it were in the fore front, I intend to shew you the whole proceeding of the Voyage in a word: as namely, there is no Passage, nor hope of Passage, in the North of *Davis Streights*, we having coasted all, or neere all the Circumference thereof, and finde it to be no other than a great Bay, as the Map here placed doth truly shew. Wherefore I cannot but much admire the worke of the Almightie, when I consider how vaine the best and chiefest hopes of man are in things vncertaine. And to speake of no other matter, then of the hopefull Passage to the North-west; how many of the best sort of men, haue set their whole indeuours to proue a Passage that Wayes, and not onely in Conference, but also in Writing, and publishing to the World; yea what great summes of money hath beene spent about that action, as your Worship hath costly experience off. Neither would the vaine glorious Spaniard haue scattered abroad so many false Maps, and Journals, if they had not beene confident of a Passage this way; that if it had pleased God, a passage had beene found, they might haue eclipsed the worthy praise of the Adventurers, and true Discouerers: and, for my owne part, I would hardly haue beleiued the contrarie, vntill mine eyes became witnesse of that I desired not to haue found, still tak-

ing occasion of hope on euery little likelihood, till such time *as we had almost coasted the Circumference of this great Bay.* Neither was Master *Dauis* to be blamed in his report, and great hopes, if he had anchored about *Hope Sanderson*, to haue taken notice of the Tydes: for to that place, which is in 72 degrees 12 minutes, the Sea is open, of an vnsearchable depth, and of a good colour: onely the Tydes keepe no certaine course, nor rise but a small height, as eight or nine foote; and the Flood commeth from the Southward; and in all the Bay beyond that place, the Tyde is so small, and not much to be regarded: yet by reason of Snow melting on the Land, the Ebbe is stronger then the Flood: by meanes whereof, and the Windes holding Northerly, the fore-part of the Yeere, the great Iles of Ice are set to the Southward; some in *Fretum Hudson*, and others towards *New found Land:* For in all the Channell, where the Sea is open, are great quantities of them driuing up and downe; and till this Yeere not well knowne where they were bred.

Now that the worst is knowne, concerning the Passage, it is necessarie and requisite, your Worship should vnderstand what probabilitie, or hope of profit, might here be made hereafter, if the Voyage be attempted by fitting men. And first, for killing of Whales. Certaine it is, that in this Bay are great numbers of them, which the *Bis-*

miners call the *Grand Baye Whales*, of the same kinde which are killed at *Greenland*, and as it seemeth to me, easie to be strooke; because they are not vsed to bee chased or beaten: for we being but one day in Whale Sound, so called from the number of Whales that we saw there sleeping and lying aloft on the water, not fearing our Ship, or ought else; that if we had beene fitted with men and things necessarie, it had beene no hard matter to haue stroke more, than would haue made three Shippes a sauing Voyage, and that it is of that sort of Whale there is no feare. I being twise at *Greenland*, tooke sufficient notice to know them againe; beside a dead Whale we found at Sea, hauing all her finnes, or rather all the rough of her mouth; of which, with much labour, we got one hundred and sixtie the same euening we found her: and if that foule Weather, and a Storme the next day, had not followed, we had no doubt, but to haue had all or the most part of them. But the Winde and Sea arising, she broke from vs, and we were forced to leaue her. Neither are they onely to be looked for in *Whale Sound*, but also in *Sir Thomas Smith's Sound*, *Wostenholme Sound*, and diuers other places.

For the killing *Sea Morse*, I can giue no certaintie, but onely this; that our Boat being but once a shoare, in all the North part of this Bay, which was in the entrance of *Alderman Jones*

Sound; at the returne, our men told vs, they saw many *Morses* along by the shoare on the Ice; but our Shippe being vnder saile, and the Winde comming faire, they presently came aboard without further search. Besides, the people inhabiting about 74 degrees, told vs by diuers signs, that toward the North, were many of those Beasts, hauing two long teeth; and shewed vs diuers pieces of the same.

As for the *Sea Vnicorne*, it being a great fish, hauing a long horne or bone, growing forth of his forehead or nostrill; such as *Sir Martin Frobisher* in his second voyage found one; in diuers places we saw of them, which if the Horne be of any good value, no doubt but many of them may be killed.

And concerning what the Shoare will yeeld, as *Beach finnes*, *Morse teeth*, and such like, I can little say; because we came not on shoare in any of the places, where hope was of finding them.

But here some may object and aske, "Why we sought that Coast no better?" To this I answere, that while we were thereabout, the Weather was so exceeding foule, wee could not: for first we anchored in *Wostenholme Sound;* where presently our Shippe drone with two anchors a head: Then were we forced to stand forth with a low saile. The next day in *Whale Sound*, we lost an Anchor and Cable, and could fetch the place no more; then we came to an anchor neere a small Iland, ly-

ing between *Sir Thomas Smith's Sound*, and *Whale Sound:* but the Winde came more outward, that we were forced to weigh againe. Nenerthelesse if we had beene in a good Harbour, hauing but our Shippe's Boat, we durst not send her farre from the Shippe; hauing so few men as seuenteene in all, and some of them very weake: But the chiefe Cause we spent so little time to seeke a Harbour, was our great desire to performe the Discourie, hauing the Sea open in all that part, and still likelihood of a Passage: but when we had coasted the Land so farre to the Southward, that hope of Passage was none, then the yeere was too farre spent, and many of our men very weake; and withall we hauing some beliefe, that Shippes the next yeere would be sent for the killing of Whales, which might better doe it then we.

And seeing I haue briefly set downe, what hope there is of making a profitable Voyage; it is not vnfit your Worship should know what let or hinderance, might be to the same. The chiefest and greatest Cause is, that some yeere it may happen by reason of the Ice, lying betweene 72 degrees and a halfe, and 76 degrees, no minutes; that the Shippes cannot come into those places, till toward the middest of July: so that want of time to stay in the Countrey, may bee some let. Yet they may well tarry till the last of August, in which space much businesse may be done, and goode store of

Oile made: neuerthelesse if store of Whales come in, as no feare to the contrarie, what cannot bee made in Oile may be brought home in Blubber, and the finnes will arise to good profit. Another hinderance may be, because the hóttome of the Sounds will not be so soone cleere as would be wished, by means thereof now and then a Whale may be lost; the same case sometime chanceth in Greenland; yet I am perswaded those Sounds before named, will all be cleered before the twentieth of July: for we, this yeere, were in *Whale Sound* the fourth day among many Whales, and might haue strooke them without let of Ice. Furthermore, there is little Wood to be expected, either for fire or other necessaries; therefore Coles, and such other things, must be prouided at home; they will be so much the readier there.

Thus much I thought good to certifie to your Worship. Wherein I trust you will conceiue, that much time hath not been spent in vaine, or the businesse ouer carelesly neglected: and although we haue not performed what we desire; that is to haue found the Passage; yet what we promised, as to bring Certaintie and a true Description, truth will make manifest, that I haue not much erred.

And I dare boldly say, without boasting, that more good Discourie hath not in shorter time, to my remembrance, beene done, since the action was attempted: considering how much Ice we haue

passed, and the difficulty of sayling so neare the Pole, vpon a trauerser; and aboue all, the Variation of the Compasse: whose wonderfull operation is such in this Bay, increasing and decreasing so suddenly and swift; being in some part, as in *Wostenholme Sound*, and in *Sir Thomas Smith's Sound*, varied aboue fiue Points, or 56 degrees, a thing almost incredible and matchlesse in all the world beside: so that without great Care, and good Obseruations, a true Description could not haue beene had.—In fine, whatsoeuer my Labours are, or shall be, I esteeme them too little to express my thankeful mind for your many Fauours; wherein I shall be euer studious, to supply my other wants by my best endeauours, and euer rest at

Your Worships Command,

WILLIAM BAFFIN.

*** Of this excellent Navigator, but little has survived—*Purchas* adds, (Page 848) "Master *Baffin* told me, that he would, if he might get employment, search the Passage, from *Japan*, by the Coast of *Asia*: but in the Indies he dyed, in the late *Ormus* businesse; slaine in fight with a shot, as he was trying his Mathematicall projects and conclusions."

CHAPTER II.

NORTH ATLANTIC.

The Ship-wracke of MASTER PIERO *QUIRINO, described by Christoforo Fiorananti, and Nicolo Di Michiel who were present there*, 1431.

IT semeth to bee a conuenient dutie to make a Memoriall, and not suffer to bee buryed in Obliuion, that most lamentable and cruell Voyage, full of innumerable and extreame miseries, which befell a *Venetian* Ship; wherein wee carryed aboue seuen hundred buttes of Wine, Spices, Cottons, and other Merchandises of great value, furnished in *Candia* with threescore and eight men, to goe towards the West. The Master whereof was *Master Piero Quirino*, a Venetian Gentleman, in the Yeare 1431: who after many troubles, † misfortunes, and wants befalne him after his departure from *Candia* towards the West, on the sixth of No-

* *Purchas*, (Vol. iii. Page 611.) who adds—"There is also the Relation hereof by *Quirino* himselfe, extant together with this in *Ramusio*, Tom. ii. out of which I have here added diuers annotations."

† These are particularly related by *Quirino*, the Patron or Owner. "They lost their Rudder on a Rocke, not farre from *Cales* in Spaine, and were faine to make thither to repair it; and other disasters followed."

uember in the foresaid Yeere of the Lord, by chance came into the Mouth of the Channels of *Flanders;* and went farre beyond them, by a Storme from the South towards the North-west, about one hundred and fortie miles; running still vpon the Iland of *Ussenti;* where, by agreement, wee *Christoforo Fiorauanti*, and *Nicolo Michiel*, say, that at noone we sounded the bottome of the Sea with the lead, and found ourselues in fiue and fiftie fathome of water; and afterward toward the euening wee sounded, and found ourselues in ninetie fathomes and more: but the Storme and furie of the Windes was so great, that it brake fiue of the hinges off our Rudder.

On the twelfth, in the Morning, the Storme not ceasing, but increasing euery Houre more and more, beat vpon our weake Rudder with so great violence and furie, that it broke away all that held it; in such sort, that it hung on the one side, where for the last remedie, we fastened a great Cable vnto it: with the which, for three dayes wee drew it after vs, not being able to doe it otherwise. In which time in our judgement, we thought wee had runne two hundred miles and more against our wills.

Afterward we tooke away the two Rudders, and with many pieces of Timber we made another, which might rather be called a Shadow then a true Rudder; and wee put it in his place to guide and

direct the Ship. But it could not endure longer, then till the six and twentieth of *Nouember*, when the violence of the Sea carried it all away: so that then wee remayned depriued of all hope of gouernment and direction. On the fourth of *December*, the furie of the Winde grew so outragious againe, that it carried away all this third Sayle, and so being spoyled and bereft of Sayle and Rudder, wee went at aduenture vntill the eight day; alwayes wandering, not knowing by any meanes how to prouide for our Safetie. Afterward the Winde alwayes increasing from the East, and with so great violence and furie, that the Sea beganne to swell so high, that the waues seemed Mountaynes, and farre greater then wee had euer seen before, with the darknesse of the extreame long Night, so that wee seemed to goe in the bottomlesse depth of Hell: whereby you may imagine how great the anguish and trembling of our Hearts was, because although wee were liuing, yet at that instant wee seemed to bee dead, expecting death euery Houre, which we saw present. In this darknesse the Heauen was sometimes seene to open, with the Lightnings and sudden flashes of fire so bright, that they tooke away the sight of our Eyes. And sometimes we seemed to touch the Starres, the Ship mounted so aloft, and then againe we saw ourselues buried in Hell; insomuch as being all astonished, we had lost our strength and force. And being in this

miserable case wee did nothing else, but with pittie behold one another: and running with so great violence for many houres, in the end a Surge of the Sea came ouer the Ship vnder the wind with such furie, that the water entred into it, filled it almost halfe full, whereby being now much weakened, it was readie to sinke, and turned vp the Keele. And surely that was the last Houre, and our end, and truly wee had bëene swallowed vp of the Sea, if our Lord Jesus Christ had not beene, who forsaketh not them that religiously call vpon Him: Who put such power and strength into our afflicted minds, that seeing the Ship in so dangerous a case, full of water, as it could not be cast out by any humane force, wee determined to cut down the mayne Mast, and cast it together with the mayne Yard and Tackling into the Sea, and so wee did. Whereby the Ship being disburdened, paused awhile; and we then taking courage, beganne to cast out the water, which with our great trouble and labour wee ouercame in the end. In this manner wee went scouring away all that long Night. Now when the Day was almost come, they agreed to make readie a Boat and the Schiffe, with that little prouision of victuall which was remayning, equally parted. And the Patron said, With your consent I command you *Nicolo di Michiel* the Notary, that you set downe in a Note, the Names of those that are willing to enter into the Schiffe

and Boat. So presently he gaue him fortie fiue persons in a Note, who were willing to enter into the Schiffe, which was capeable but of one and twentie Men only, and therefore it was necessary to cast lots who should goe therein; and so it was done, and they prepared it, and set it in order, and did the like to the Boate, into the which the Master with fortie seuen men entered. The one and twentie persons to whom the lot fell, entred the Schiffe, and a rate was giuen them, according to the proportion of the Victuall which was remayning of Bisket; and also of *Frisoppi*, three hundered pound weight; of Cheese of *Candia* Eightie pounds; of dried Bacon Eight Pounds; of Tallow to trim their Schiffe fortie Pounds; of Oyle about two Pound waight, and no more: but besides wee bestowed there Seuen Carrattells of *Tyrian* Wine, which is a kind of Maluasie, for the Pinnasse or Schiffe would hold no more. In like manner fortie seuen Men, reckoning the Master, entred into the Boate or Pinnasse; vnto whom rateably fell their proportion of Victuals, adding thereto a little Greene Ginger in Sirrope, and Sirrope of Limons, with some small quantitie of Spices, which wee had taken. Wee were (in our judgement) distant from the neerest Iland, or Land, about fiue hundred miles or more, from the point of Land to lee-ward of the North part; and we sayled with these Conserues in a quiet and calme Sea, that little time of the day,

together with our one and twentie Companions, comforting ourselues in that which wee had seene the beginning of so faire a fortune. But when the Night came, a darke Mist rose, which was a token of the euil successe and end, which our Companions of the Schiffe were to haue; of whom wee had now lost sight, so that wee neuer saw them any more.

II. The Nineteenth day, the Morning appearing, and not seeing any token of the Schiffe, it made vs suspicious of their Death: whereupon our Mindes were much troubled, doubting what might befall them; because the Windes raged in such manner, that a waue of the Sea mounted with so great violence into the Pinnasse, behind the Poope, where wee *Christopher* and *Nicholas* were set downe, that through the force of the furie thereof, two Stayes were battered and bent, which left a token of vnsupportable trouble and griefe, by meanes that the Pinnasse was more charged with the weight of the water, then with her owne burthen. Wherefore to remedie it, we ranne all to lade it out with our Hands; and being constrained through feare and necessitie, for the freeing of her, wee were faine to cast out all that, whether with water or without, which came most fit and ready to our Hands. The Pinnasse becomming drie againe, presently in this Storme, wee agreed to cast ouer-board the greatest part of the Wine; and wee found our selues in so great extremitie, that if wee would taste thereof to

comfort our troubled Senses, no more then one Goblet of Wine apeece, fell to euery mans share for the whole day; and who so would drinke more, was constrayned to take the Sea-water: and this measure and quantitie of Wine, held out eight dayes, and no more.

And afterward being driuen to greater Necessitie, wee brought our selues to a greater Extremitie, by restrayning our proportion to halfe a Goblet a day; and none of vs could securely sleepe, for the diuers doubts and dangers, wherein wee alwayes presently stood. Wee continued euery day and Night, foure or sixe of vs at the Helme; and those that were at the Pumpe, stood alwayes firme and vpright changing their courses: where we endured Cold beyond comparison farre greater then that, which not many Yeeres since was in *Venice*, when all the Channells were frozen; so that from *Margara* to *Venice*, not onely Men and Women, but Oxen, Horses, Carts, and Waggons, went ouer vpon the Ice in great multitudes, to the admiration of all the people, because that Region is (without comparison) much colder then the countrey of *Italy*. Now consider what our case was; being without Clothes to couer vs, and not hauing any thing to eate, or drinke, or other necessary thing for the maintenance of Mans life, except a few *Frisoppi* which were left; and the Nights one and twentie houres long, and also darke. Through

the which Cold, wee began to lose the feeling of our feete, and by little and little the Cold becomming more vehement, possessed the whole Body, procuring a dogged and raging appetite and hunger. So that euery one sought to deuoure that which was hid in a corner; and whatsoeuer he had next at hand, wheresoeuer hee could finde it, as well as hee might, with that weake and little strength which hee had remayning. Afterward, Death seasing vpon them, you might see them shake the Head, and fall downe presently dead.

In the which Diseases, of seuen and fortie Men (which wee found in that case) sixe and twentie yeelded vp the Ghost; and it was not any wonder, considering wee could not haue any succour, nay, it is a diuine miracle that any one remayned aliue. And those few of vs that are remayning, liue onely to commend to memorie, and highly to exalt the great power of God. Those sixe and twentie dyed, from the three and twentieth of December vntill the fifth of January; now one, now two, and sometimes more, in one day, whom wee buryed in the Sea.

The one and thirtieth of *December*, our Wine being wholly spent, and hauing seene the cruell and lamentable experience of our sixe and twentie Companions, who dyed with drinking of the Sea-water; Necessities gaue vs a good stomacke, that is to say, to take our owne Water to quench our thirst.

Now, there were some of the Companie exceedingly troubled with giddinesse: for, wanting the abundant plentie of Wine, they were not able to indure thirst, nor to expell it; but they accounted it a great fauour to bee able to obtayne of their Companions, whereof there were some who denyed it to their dearest friend, to keepe it for themselues. It is true, that some of vs warily mortified it, by mingling a little Sirrop of green Ginger, or Limons therewith, which by chance we had remayning. During this time, vntill the fifth of *January*, wee were euery Houre more accustomed to greater extremities.

III. The third of January, 1431, wee had sight of the Land, which gaue vs great hope; although it so fell out, that it was very farre distant, where wee saw certayne Rockes to weatherward couered to the top with infinite heapes of Snow; to the which the Windes being contrary, wee were not able to approach with the Sayles, and much less with Oares, because our armes were exceedingly weakened. Wherefore wee strone to come neere them with the Winde; but passing beyond them, through the current of the Water, we lost sight of them altogether.

And after difficult escape from the Rockes, sayling forward towards a very high Rocke, wee had sight of a Valley scituated betweene the two next mountaynes; into the which desiring to enter about the

fourth Houre of the Night, the cruell and outragious Windes would not suffer vs. Notwithstanding, inflamed through an exceeding great desire to goe on Land, wee tooke courage and strength, and (through force of the Oares, and the helpe of God) entred into the sayd Valley, at a point of Land in the least doubtfull and dangerous place, as it were at the very beginning and entrie thereof; in the which, as soone as they perceiued the Pinnasse to touch vpon the Sand, fiue of our Companie being more desirous of drinke, then of any other refreshment and recreation, leaped into the water without any regard, although it were very deepe; and went their way towards the Snow, and so glutted themselues therewith, that it was an incredible thing. And afterward, they brought a great quantitie thereof vnto vs, who remayned in the Pinnasse to defend it from the beating of the Sea; of the which wee also with great greedinesse receiued without measure.

And running according to our judgement, as wee had runne in this Pinnasse for eighteene dayes, from the day that wee departed from the Ship, vntill this sixth of Januarie; sayling always betweene the North-east and the East; and not with lesse Winde then after sixe Miles an houre; we had runne about two thousand fiue hundred Miles and more, without euer seeing any Land.

On the sixth of Januarie, at the time of the Solemne day of the *Epiphanie*, nineteene of vs went

on Land in this desolate and dire place, called the *Iland of the Saints*, in the Coast of Norway, subject to the Crown of *Denmarke;* leauing two other to looke to the weake Pinnasse, that it might not bee broken with the beating of the Sea. And being landed there by meanes of an Oare, we endeauoured to kindle fire; and with a Tynder Boxe and Steele to strike fire, wee retired our selues into the closest place from the Winde; and at the sight of the Fire, Nature thereby receiued a little strength.

Finding this Iland not inhabited, and seeking to goe in the Pinnasse to another * Iland fiue miles off; shee so leaked, that part of vs landing, as it were all in Water, and some of vs vp to the middle in shallower Water, wee strone to draw her on Land; and despairing to bee euer able to goe in her againe, wee determined to fit her in such sort, that she might serue our turnne to couer vs, after the best manner that wee could. We broake her into two parts: and of the greater wee made a shelter, or Cottage for thirteene of vs; and of the lesser a Shedde, capable of fiue Men, vnder the which wee entred couering them with part of our Sayles; and with the rest, and the cordage of the sayd Pinnasse, wee made continuall Fire to preserue our liues.

Now being vtterly destitute of all sustenance of Meate and Drinke, wee went wandering vpon the

* The Isle of *Rustene.*

Sea Shoare, where Nature gaue vs food to maintayne Life, with certaine Perewinckles, or Shelfish and Barnacles. And of these, not as many nor when wee would, but in very small quantitie. And remouing the Snow in some places, wee found a certayne Herbe, which together with the Snow wee cast into the caldron; and when wee thought it was boyled, wee eate it. Nor could wee satisfie ourselues therewith, and thus wee liued for thirteene dayes together: with small charitie amongst vs, by reason of the great scarcitie of all thinges, and extreame famine; leading rather a brutish life then the life of Men.

Continuing in this rude and homely kinde of Life, it happened, that through the intollerable Wants, foure of our Companions of the greater retiring Place, failed even where the afflicted Master was, with those remedies and slender comforts for their soules and bodies. So that you may thinke their bodies remayning neere vnto vs, who being very weake had lost all our strength, wee were not able to remoue them two Yardes out of sight: and yet I will say more, that wee had no sooner taken the frozen or warme water in our mouthes, but presently Nature of itselfe cast it vp againe; wee not beeing able to abstaine from it, nor almost to stand on our feete.

The cold Season of the yeere had brought vs to such Necessitie, that (to warme vs) wee stood close

thronged, in such sort, that wee seemed (as it were) to bee sewed together. Wherefore I entred vnder the Sayles, which couered both our Cottages round about, downe to the ground, the Smoake not being able to issue foorth; which proceeded (as I thinke) from the Pitch which was within certaine peeces of the Pinnasse, which we burned: so that our Eyes were swolne that we could not see: Neuertheless wee indured all, that wee might bee warme. And our Garments which wee neuer put off, were full of Vermine, and the lice swarmed in such number, that taking them from our backes, wee cast them by whole handfuls into the fire; and they had entred into the flesh, in such manner through the skinne, euen to the bones, that finally they brought a young Man of our company (that was a *Notarie*) euen vnto death: so that hee was neuer able to defend himselfe from so loathsome a little Vermine. A thing of most manifest example, to abase and abate our Pride, and haughtiness of Minde.

Now Concord fayling among vs, euery one vsed his owne proper aduise: Whereupon part of our Companie wandring through the Sauage and vninhabited Place, came to the knowledge of a solitarie and ancient retiring place made by the Shepherds heretofore, for the time of their abode; and it was seated on the highest part of the Coast of the sayd Iland towards the West, distant from ours

about a mile and a halfe. Vnto the which, sixe of the Companie of the number of those eight, which were found in that first and greater retiring Place, determined to remoone themselues to that new-found solitarie Habitation, for their lesse inconuenience: leauing the other two, their other companions alone, in an abandoned and forsaken place; as well because they were not able to trauell, as also for that wee were altogether vnable to conduct them.

It came to passe, that those sixe through the gracious goodnesse and gift of God, found an exceeding great Fish, to the which I know not what name to giue, whether Whale or Porpisse of the Sea; which we are to think was sent from the Diuine and excellent bountie to feed vs. And considering, that wee saw it cast up by the Sea vpon the Shoare, dead, fresh, good and great, and at the time of our so great Necessitie; wee rendred thankes vnto our most gracious Lord God, who at that time would sustayne our so weake and diseased bodies, with that Foode, appeased peraduenture through the prayers of some vigilant and deuout Soule.

With this Fish wee fedde ourselues for nine dayes sufficiently. And as it happened, those very nine dayes were so tempestuous with Windes, Rayne, and Snow, that by no means the cruell Storme would haue suffered vs to goe one pace out of our Cottage.

The miraculous Fish being spent, the furious Tempest was somewhat asswaged: wherefore not

hauing wherewith to maintayne Life, like Wolues, that oppressed with famine goe to seeke out other places of abode, wee arose out of the Cottage, and went wandering through the desert Rockes, to finde any succour to sustayne our life with Perewinckles of the Sea and Barnacles. With the which wee were of necessitie to bee contented, although they were very little thinges; and so wee maintayned our selues vntill the last of January,* 1431: and therefore wee were leane, pale, afflicted, and but halfe aliue. In which time, finding certayne dung of Oxen scorched and dried with the Cold, and Winde, (whereof wee gathered euery day to make a Fire) wee certainely knew that place to bee frequented by Oxen: which thing gaue vs assured hope of some good end; and through this perswasion, wee indured part of our grieuous Cares, and Sorrowes.

IV. In the end the Houre came, wherein our benigne Creator, and most gracious Lord, purposed to conduct his little Flocke, so much afflicted, into the Hauen of their safetie: and it was in this manner.—Two young Heifers of a Fisher-man neere vnto this Iland (Ile of *Rustene*) within fiue miles, beeing strayed the former yeere from the place where hee vsed to dwell; and neuer vnderstanding any newes of them within the Yeere, nor hauing any hope to finde them againe; on the very first day of February, 1431, at Night, one of the Sonnes of the said Fisher-man of *Rustene*, being of the age of six-

* *Purchas* adds in the Margin, "1432, in Foraine account."

teene yeares, dreamed that certainly the two Heifers were escaped, and gone vp to the Iland of *Saints* distant from them, where wee were lodged, at the point of the West part, vpon the which no Man durst euer goe at the low Water. Whereupon the Sonne who had such a Vision or Dreame, prayed the Father, and an elder brother of his, that they would accompany him to goe to seeke them.

And so, all three in a Fisher-boate tooke their way towards the sayd Iland, and came to the Point where wee were; and the sayd young Men landing there, left their Father to looke to the Boate. And hauing ascended a little vpon the Cliffe, they saw a smoake arise in the ayre, from the retiring Place which they had formerly vsed. Whereupon through feare and astonishment, they maruelled, and that not a little; how, whence, and by what means it might come to passe. Wherefore, they stood a long time much amazed. And desiring to know the Cause, they began to talk one with another. And although wee perceiued the noyse, and heard the Voyce; yet wee could not conceiue whence it should bee, but rather judged it to bee the crying of Crowes, then the voyce of Men: and wee were the rather induced thereunto, because some few dayes before, wee had seene (vpon the miserable Carkasses of our eight Companions cast to the Winde) multitudes of Crowes, that rent the ayre with their croking, feeding themselues vpon them: whereupon wee thought it could bee no other.

But continuing from good to better, the voyces of the children of God sent to saue vs, wee cleerely perceiued that they were the voyces of Men, and not the crying of Fowles. And at that instant *Christopharo Fiorauanti* arose out of the Cottage; and, seeing the two young Striplings, crying with a loude voyce came towards vs, saying, *Rejoyce, behold two come to seeke vs.* Whereupon, inflamed with an earnest desire, wee raysed our-selues on our feete, going rather with the heart than with the feete; and drawing neere vnto them, we perceiued that through the sudden and extreame strangenesse of the matter, they were afraid, and their countenances began to waxe pale. But contrarily wee cheered our selues, and, being comforted with an assured Hope, shewed with actions and gestures of humilitie, that wee came not to offend them in any wise. Diuers thoughts came in our Mindes, whether wee should detaine one of them or both; or whether one or two of vs should goe with them. The first determination was against vs, because wee knew not with whom, nor with how many wee had to doe, for that wee vnderstood not them, nor they vs.

But being aduised by the holy Ghost, wee went downe to their Boate, in the best and most amiable manner that wee could; where the Father was, who expected them: and when hee saw vs, he also remayned astonished and amazed. In this meane space, wee looked whether there were any thing in

their Boate, to succour our Necessities, to maintayne Life: but wee found nothing there. So, they moued through pitie, seeing vs affamished by signs and actions which wee made vnto them, were contented to carrie with them *Ghirardo da Lione*, a Sewer, and *Cola di Otranto* a Marriner, who had some knowledge, and where able to speake the *French* and the high Dutch; leauing vs in great hope of present safetie and helpe.

Their Boate comming to *Rustene* with our two Companions, all the people flocked together; and seeing the countenance and habite of our Companions, astonished at so great and strange a matter, they demanded among themselues, whence, and how, such like fellowes as these appeared, or from what place they landed. And that they might bee the better aduertised, they attempted to speak vnto them in diuers languages; but in the end an *Almaine* Priest of the order of the Preachers, spake with one of the said Companions in the high *Dutch*, and by that meanes they were certified what wee were, from whence, and how wee had arriued there. The which matter the Morning following, which was the second day of *Februarie*, dedicated to the glorious Mother of Christ, the said Priest published to all the people of *Rustene;* exhorting them, that thro our misfortune, they would bee moued to pitie and to help vs, according to their abilitie.

In this meane space, through the Catholike re-

membrance of the *Almaine* Priest, on the third day of *February*, 1431, at the very instant of the day of Saint *Biagio*; the curteous and pittifull Inhabitants of *Rustene* came unto vs, with great plentie of all sustenance, which they vse for their pronision, to feed vs and preserue vs; being desirous to conduct vs to their kinde Habitations, to refresh our weake bodies. And so wee were guided and receiued into *Rustene* upon the sayd day; where wee had great restoratiues, which were rather hurtfull for vs, through the exceeding abundance thereof: because wee could neuer satisfie ourselves with eating, and our weake stomackes not being able to indure it, it made our hearts to grieue, so that wee thought wee should have dyed.

There were remayning in the first and greater of our retiring Places, two of the Companie, which were impotent and weake, who knew nothing of this our so miraculous Succour. Wherefore giuing these Catholike Countrey people notice of them, and likewise of the other eight that were dead, and vnburied; assembling themselues together, they went with the Priest singing Psalmes and Hymnes, as well, as to burie those eight that were dead, as to conduct to the Hauen of Safetie, the two that were remayning behinde: and arriuing at the Hand of *Saints*, they performed a worke of mercy to the eight that were dead, to the which number, one of the two remayning was added, whom they found dead. Now imagine,

how the other could continue, being depriued of companie, and all humaine assistance : and yet hee was brought to *Rustene* with some little shew of life, where, at the end of two dayes he departed this transitorie life.

Eleuen of vs being come to *Rustene*, wee landed and went into the house of our Guide, Host, and Lord, as hee and the rest desired ; whereinto our most prudent Master, *Master Piero Quirino* entring, vsing his wisdome and discretion, performed an action of exceeding great humilitie, as soon as hee saw the Companion of our Conductor and Sergeant Maior : declaring by semblance, that hee would acknowledge her to bee the Mistresse of the house, hee cast himselfe downe at her feet; but shee refused, and lifted him vp from the ground, embracing him, and bringing him to the fire ; and with her owne hands gaue him somewhat to eate.

In this Island there are twelue little Houses, with about one hundred and twentie persons, for the most part Fishermen ; and they are by Nature indued with understanding to know how to make Boates, Buckets, Tunnes, Baskets, Nets of all sorts, and euery other thing necessarie for their vse and trade. And they are very curteous one toward another and seruiceable ; desirous to please rather for loue, then for hope of any gift or good turne to bee done them againe.

Fishes called Stock-fish, in all their payments

and bartering, are vsed in stead of coyned money; and they are all as it were of one bignesse and measure; of the which euery yeere they drie an infinite number in the winde; and in the time of May fraight themselves with them, carrying them through the Realmes of Denmarke, that is to say, *Sweden*, *Denmarke* and *Norway*: being all subject to the King of *Dacia*; where they barter and exchange the said Fish, for Leather, Cloathes, Iron, Pulse, and other things, whereof they haue scarcitie.

Few other things for maintenance of life are found there, except Fish; yet, at certaine times, they have some small quantitie of Beefe, and Milke of Kine, of the which, with Rice, and I know not what other mixture, they make Bread of a naughtie taste. Their Drinke is sowre Milke, displeasing vnto them who haue not beene accustomed thereunto. They vse also Ale, that is to say, Wine drawne out of Rie. Wee eate of the Plaice or *Halibut* Fish; which are exceeding great, so that you would not beleeue it: wee saw some of them somewhat longer then sixe feete of the common *Venetian* measure, aboue two foote broad vpon the Chine, and more then three quarters of a foote in thicknesse: a wonderfull thing to bee spoken. They cloath the men with redde Hides, and likewise blacke, able to defend them from the water; and they vse Cloathes very course, of azure, redde, and ash colour, brought from *Denmarke*, of small price and estimation.

These Countrey people vse much to frequent the Church, because they are very deuout, and yeeld great reuerence to the worship and seruice of God. Auarice is as it were altogether extinguished, for, they vnderstand not in any sort, nor know, what thing of anothers may become theirs, but by barter; and therefore they vse not to locke Doore, House, nor Windowes, nor any Chest for feare to bee robbed, but onely by reason of the wilde Beasts. . . . Surely we may say, that from the third of February 1431, vntill the fourteenth of May 1432, which amounteth to an hundred dayes and one; we were within the circuit of Paradise, to the reproach and shame of the Countries of *Italie*. . .

From the twentieth of Nouember, vntill the twentieth of February, the Night continueth and lasteth there about one and twentie houres or more; the Moon neuer wholly hiding her bodie or her rayes at least. And from the twentieth of May vntill the twentieth of August, either the whole Sunne is alwayes seene, or else his beames neuer faile.

In this Countrey there is infinite plentie of white Birds, in their language called *Muxi;* but we called them Cockes of the Sea; which by nature conuerse, and willingly abide where Men inhabit, whether they find them in Barkes, or on the land: And they are so domesticall and tame, as House-doues are with vs.

In this Iland, and in the Countries of *Suecia* wee saw very white skins of Beares as white as *Armelins*, much longer then twelue Venetian feete. Wee abode in *Rustene* three moneths and eleuen dayes, expecting a fit time to passe with our Host into Sneden, with his vsuall fraight of Stock-fish ; which is in the time of May, when these Countrey people depart, carrying with them infinite plentie thereof through the Realmes of the aforesaid King of *Dacia.*

On the fourteenth day of May 1432, came the houre so much desired, to turne our faces towards our amiable and beloued Countrey, as our minde and desire alwayes was; and leaue the charitable place of *Rustene*, which was the last succour and refreshing to our Miseries. So wee tooke our leaue of our Domesticall friends of the House, and of our Mistresse and Hostesse, to whom in token of our loue wee left-not that whereunto wee were in Dutie bound, but what wee had remayning; and that was, certayne small trifling things of little value, in our opinion, as Goblets, Girdles, and small Rings. And likewise wee tooke leaue of the Neighbours, and the Priest, and generally of all : shewing them by signes and words, as the Interpeter might vnderstand them, that we acknowledged our selues bound vnto them all. And hauing performed due Salutations, we entred into a Barke of the Burthen of twentie tunnes, or thereabouts, laden with the said Fish ; guided by our Patrone and Host, with

three of his Sonnes, and certayne of their Kindred. And wee departed on the said day, bending our Course towards *Bergie;* which is the first conuenient and fit Hauen, for the dispatch and riddance of such Fish; which place is distant from *Rustene* about some thousand miles. So we conducted the said Barke through certaine direct and safe chaunels, rowing most commodiously and at ease.

But after wee were about two hundred miles off from *Rustene*, wee found certai e Relikes of the planks and ribs of our Skiffe; whereby we plainly knew, that our Companions which were in it, were perished and drowned, the first night they departed from vs.

The nine and twentieth of May 1432, wee arrived with the said Barke at *Trondon* vpon the Coast of *Norway*, the Princely Seate of the King of *Denmarke;* where the Honourable bodie of glorious Saint *Olaus* resteth. There we stayed ten dayes to waite for passage, and a fit time for our Voyage: but not finding it, because wee would lose no more time, wee tooke leaue of our beloued Host, his Sonnes and the rest, to proceed on our journey by Land.

The ninth of June we departed from *Trondon*, trauelling on foot, going towards *Vastena;* a place subject to the King of *Denmarke*, within the Prouince of *Sueden;* where the Cheek bone, and part of the bone of the head of Saint *Bridget* remayneth. Being there, wee understood by the *Venetians*, that

the Inhabitants, for the reuerence of their glorious King Saint *Olaus*, vnto whom, (as they well knew) our *Signorie* of *Venice* did great fauour, in his going and returning from his Voyage to *Hierusalem*; were disposed with deeds to prouide for vs by their counsell, helpe, and money. And first, they aduised vs, not to goe the direct way into *Dacia*, by reason of the dangers of wilde Beasts, which might befall vs; but to addresse our selues to goe directly to *Stichimborgi*, to find out a valiant *Venetian* Knight called *M. Giouan Francho*, from whom wee should receiue fauour and helpe, in plentifull manner, for loue of our Countrey; although the way were thirtie dayes journey, quite contrary to our direct way. On the eighteenth day we came to the Court of the said Cauallier *M. Giouan Francho*, an Honourable Baron, and highly esteemed of the Crowne of *Dacia*, where (with great joy) we found our two straggling Companions.

The valorous Knight being now informed of our comming, with a cheerfull Countenance declared well unto vs, how great the loue of his Countrey was, especially knowing the calamitie and penurie of vs his Countrey-men, and being easily able to releeue it. And therefore he could not sufficiently satisfie himselfe in honouring, clothing, and feeding vs, but gaue vs money for our Necessities: and furnishing vs afterward with good Horses, in his owne proper person, together with his only Sonne

M. Mapheo, with an hundred and twentie Horses of his owne Seruants, he accompanied vs many dayes journeys through his Territories, trauelling alwayes at his owne charge. Afterward, vpon his limits and bounds wee tooke our leaue to depart, thanking him with the most reuerent and kinde speeches that possibly wee could. Whereupon, he being departed, left vs for our Guide, his said Sonne *M. Mapheo*, with twentie Seruants on Horsebacke; who kept vs company vnto *Vastena*, the place from whence about fortie dayes before we had departed; vnto the which place, for the auoyding of two monethes trauell, wee were faine to returne: so that on the thirtieth day of July, wee entred into *Vastena*, where wee abode vntill the second of August; being alwayes accompanied, and our charges borne by the said *M. Mapheo*.

On the second of August, wee tooke our leaue of the foresaid *M. Mapheo*, yielding him such thankes as wee could. And being departed from him, wee went to *Lodese*, where wee arriued the eleuenth of the said moneth: in which places wee found two passages, the one for *England*, and the other for the *Low Countries:* and there voluntarily diuided ourselues into two parts.

The two and twentieth of August, 1432, we *Christophoro Fioraunte*, one of the Councell of the vnfortunate Ship, together with *Girardo da Lione*,

the Sewer, and *Nicholo di Michiel* of Venice, the Notarie, now Writer of this present Discourse, departed from the other eight of our Companions; they going towards *London*, and we to *Venice* by way of *Rostock*, pretending to goe to *Rome* for a pardon. And after many troubles and molestations, passing ouer Mountaynes, Valleyes, Riuers, sometimes on foote, and sometimes on Horse-backe; through the helpe of the Omnipotent God, wee came vnto our so much desired Countrey of *Venice*, on the twelfth of October 1432, safe and sound: leauing the said *Girardo da Lione* at *Vasenech*, who from thence went vnto his Countrey; and those that went into *England* were these: Master *Francesco Quirini*, Sonne of Master *Jacomo* a *Venetian* Gentleman, being merchant of the vnhappe Ship; Master *Piero Gradenico*, Sonne of Master *Andrea*, of the age of eighteene yeeres, a young Merchant; *Bernardo da Caghire* Pilot of the Ship: whose Wife being young; as well through the long delay of time passed, as for that it was many times certainly reported, that the said Ship with all them that were therein, were in great danger, and no token at all appearing to the contrary; being aduised more hastily, then vpon mature consideration, as is the manner of needie Women; she married herself at *Triuiso*. But hearing of our comming, and the certayne newes of her liuing and true Husband, she

presently seperated the bond of the second Marriage, and shut her selfe up in an honest Monasterrie; as well to declare the Integritie of her Minde, as to expect the returne of her true Husband: who about some three moneths came to *Venice*, safe and sound, and tooke her againe vnto him.

CHAPTER III.

The Journall of MASTER HENRY HUDSON *for the Discourie of the North West Passage,* * *beginne the seuenteenth of Aprill,* 1610, *ended with his end: being treacherously exposed by some of the Companie. Written by* ABACVK PRICKET. (Purchas, Vol. iii. Page 597.)

WE began our Voyage for the North-west Passage, the seuenteenth of Aprill, 1610. Thwart of *Shepey*, our Master sent Master *Colbert* backe to the Owners with his Letter. The next day, we weighed from hence and stood for Harwich, and came thither the eight and twentieth of Aprill. From Harwich we set sayle the first of May, along the Coast to the North, till we came to the Isles of *Orkney*; from thence to the Iles of *Faro*, and from thence to *Island;* on which we fell in a Fogge, hearing the Rut of the Sea ashoare, but saw not

* This was HUDSON's fourth Voyage: FIRST 1607, SECOND 1608, THIRD 1609.

the Land, whereupon our Master came to an Anchor.

Here we were embayed in the South-east part of the Land. Wee weighed and stood along the Coast on the West-side toward the North: but one day being calme, we fell a fishing, and caught good store of Fish, as Cod, and Ling, and Butte, with some other sorts that we knew not. The next day, we had a good gale of wind at South-west, and raysed the Iles of *Westmonie*, where the King of Denmarke had a Fortresse; by which we passed to rayse the *Snow Hill* foot, a Mountayne so called on the North-west part of the Land. But in our course, we saw that famous Hill, *Mount Hecla*, which cast out much fire, a signe of foule weather to come in short time. Wee leaue *Island* asterne of vs, and met a Mayne of Ice, which did hang on the North part of *Island* and stretched downe to the West; which when our Master saw, he stood back for *Island* to find an Harbour, which we did on the North-west part, called *Derefer*, or *Diraford*, where wee killed good store of Fowle. From hence wee put to sea againe, but (neither Wind nor Weather seruing) our Master stood backe againe for this Harbour, but could not reach it; but fell with another, to the South of that called by our Englishmen *Lousie Bay:* where on the shoare we found an hot Bath, and here all our Englishmen bathed them-

selues. The water was so * hot, that it would scald a Fowle.

From hence the first of June we put to Sea for *Groneland*, but to the West we saw Land as we thought, for which we beare the best part of a day, but it proued but a foggie banke. So wee gaue it ouer, and made for *Groneland*, which we raysed the fourth of † June. Vpon the Coast thereof hung good store of Ice, so that our Master could not attayne to the Shoare by any meanes. The Land is in this part very mountaynous, and full of round Hils, like to Sugar-loaues, couered with Snow. We turned the land on the South side, as near as the Ice would suffer vs. Our course for the most was betweene the West and North-west, till we raysed the ‡ *Desolations*, which is a great

* An Account of the Hot Springs near *Rykum*, and of those near *Haukadal*, in Iceland, appeared in two Letters sent by *John Thomas Stanley*, Esq. to *Dr. Black:* read before the Royal Society, Nov. 7, 1791; and April 30, 1792. *Dr. Black's* Analysis of their Waters was also read, July 4, 1791.—The whole has since been reprinted in a small Pamphlet, to illustrate some Engravings that have been published by Mr. N. Pocock, from the Icelandic Designs of Mr. Stanley.

† The fourth day, says Hudson in his short Journall, we saw *Groneland* over the Ice perfectly; and this night the Sunne went downe due North, and rose N.N.E. So plying the fifth day, we were in 65 degrees.

‡ The fifteenth Day, we were in sight of the Land, in Latitude 59 degrees, 27 minutes, which was called by Captayne John *Dauis*, DESOLATION; and found the errour of the former laying downe of that Land: and then running to the North-westward vntill the twentieth day, we found the Ship in 60 degrees 42 minutes, and saw much Ice, and many Riplings or Ouer-fals, and a Streame setting from E.S.E. to W.N.W.—*Ibid.*

Iland in the West part of *Groneland.* On this Coast we saw great store of Whales, and at one time three of them came close by vs, so as wee could hardly shunne them; then two passing very neere, and the third going vnder our Ship, wee receiued no harme by them, praysed bee God.

From the *Desolations* our Master made his way North-west, the Wind being against him, who else would haue gone more to the North; but in this Course we saw the first great Iland, or Mountayne of Ice, whereof after we saw store. About the latter end of June, we raysed Land to the North of vs, which our Master tooke to bee that Iland which Master *Dauis* setteth downe in his Chart. On the West side of his Streight, our Master would have gone to the North of it, but the Wind would not suffer him: so we fell to the South of it, into a great Rippling, or ouerfall of Current, the which setteth to the West. Into the Current wee went, and made our way to the North of the West, 'till we met with Ice which hung on this Iland. Wherefore our Master casting about, cleered himselfe of this Ice, and stood to the South, and then to the West, through store of floting Ice, and upon the Ice, store of Seales. We gained a cleere Sea, and continued our Course till we meete Ice; first, with great Ilands, and then with store of the smaller sort. Betweene them wee made our Course North-west, till we met with Ice againe. But, in this our going betweene the Ice, we saw

one of the great Ilands of Ice ouerturne, which was a good warning to vs, not to come nigh them, nor within their reach. Into the Ice wee put ahead, as betweene two Lands. The next day wee had a Storme, and the Wind brought the Sea so fast vpon us, that in the end we were driuen to put her into the chiefest of the Ice, and there to let her lie. Some of our men this day fell sicke, I will not say it was for feare, although I saw small signe of other griefe.

The Storme ceasing, we stood out of the Ice, where we saw any cleere Sea to goe to: which was sometime more, and sometime lesse. Our Course was as the Ice did lye, sometime to the North, then to the North-west, and then to the West, and to the South-west: but still inclosed with Ice. Which when our Master saw, he made his course to the South, thinking to cleere himselfe of the Ice that way; but the more he strove, the worse he was, and the more inclosed; till we could goe no further. Here our Master was in despaire, and, as he told me after, he thought he should neuer haue got out of this Ice, but there haue perished. Therefore he brought forth his Card; and shewed all the Company, that he was entered aboue an hundred leagues further than euer any Englishman was; and left it to their choice, whether they would proceed any further; *yea, or nay!* Whereupon, some were of one minde, and some of another; some wishing themselues

at home, and some not caring wher, so they were out of the Ice: but there were some who then spake Words, which were remembered a great while after.

There was one who told the Master, that if he had an hundred pounds, hee would giue fourescore and ten to be at Home; but the Carpenter made answere, that *If he had an hundred, he would not giue ten vpon any such condition, but would thinke it to be as good money as euer he had any, and to bring it as well Home, by the leaue of God.* After many Words to no purpose, to worke we must, on all hands, to get ourselues out, and to cleere our Ship. After much labour and time spent, we gained roome to turne our Ship in; and so by little and little, to get cleere in the Sea a league or two off, our Course being North and North-west.

In the end, we raysed * Land to the South-west, high Land and couered with Snow. Our Master named this Land, *Desire prouokes.* Lying here, wee heard the noyse of a great ouer-fall of a Tyde, that came out of the Land, for now we might see well that we had been embayed before; and time had made vs know, being so well acquainted with the Ice, that when Night, or foggie or foule Weather tooke vs, we would seeke out the broadest Iland of Ice, and there come to anchor; and runne,

* On the eighth of July, in 60 degrees. *Ibid.*

and * sport, and fill water that stood on the Ice in Ponds, both sweete and good. But after we had brought this Land to beare South of vs, we had the Tyde and the Current to open the Ice, as being carried first one way and then another: but in Bayes they lye as in a pond without mouing. In this Bay where we were thus troubled with Ice, wee saw many of these Mountaynes of Ice aground, in sixe or seuenscore fathome of water. In this our Course we saw a Beare vpon a piece of Ice by itselfe; to the which our men gaue chace with their Boat: but before they came nigh her, the Tyde had carried the Ice and the Beare on it, and joyned it with the other Ice: so they lost their labour, and came aboord againe.

We continued our Course to the North-west, and raysed Land to the North of our Course, toward which we made; and comming nigh it, there hung on the Eastermost point, many Ilands of floting Ice, and a Beare on one of them; which from one to another came towards vs, till she was readie to come aboord. But when she saw vs looke at her, she cast her heade betweene her hinder legges, and then diued under the Ice; and so from one piece to another, till she was out of our reach. We stood along by the Land on the Southside ahead of vs. We met with Ice that hung on a point of

* What *Purchas* quaintly terms in the Margin, *Exercises of Pleasure and profit on the Ice.*

Land that lay to the South, more than this that we came vp by: which when our Master saw he stood in for the shoare. At the West end of this Iland, for so it is, we found an Harbour, and came in, at a full Sea, ouer a Rocke, which had two fathome and an halfe on it, and was so much bare at a low water. But by the great mercie of God, we came to an Anchor cleere of it; and close by it, our Master named them, the * *Iles of Gods Mercie.* This is an Harbour for need, but there must be care had how they come in. Heere our Master sent me, and others with me, to discouer to the North and North-west: and in going from one place to another, we sprung a Couey of Partridges which were young: at which *Thomas Woodhouse* shot, but killed only the old one. This Iland is a most barren place, having nothing on it but plashes of water and riuen Rockes, as if it were subiect to Earthquakes. To the North there is a great Bay, or Sea, for I know not what it will proue; where I saw a great Iland of Ice aground, betweene the two Lands; which with the Spring-tide was set afloat, and carried into this Bay, or Sea, to the North westward; but came not backe againe, nor

* We anchored by three rockie Islands in vncertaine Depth, betweene two and nine fathomes. The Water floweth here better than fonre fathomes: the floud commeth from the North, flowing eight the change day. The Latitude in this place is 62 degrees, nine minutes. *Hudson's Journal.*

within sight. Here wee tooke in some Drift wood that we found ashoare.

From hence we stood to the South-west, to double the Land to the West of vs, through much floting Ice. In the end wee found a cleere Sea, and continued therein, till wee raysed Land to the North-west. Then our Master made his Course more to the South than before: but it was not long ere we met with Ice which lay a head of vs. Our Master would have doubled this Ice to the North, but could not; and in the end put into it downe to the South-west through much Ice, and then to the South, where we were embayed againe. Our Master strouc to get the Shoare, but could not, for the great store of Ice that was on the Coast. From out of this Bay, we stood to the North, and were soone out of the Ice: then downe to the South-west, and so to the West, where we were enclosed, to our sight, with Land and Ice. For we had Land from the South to the North-west on one side, and from the East to the West on the other: but the Land that was to the North of vs, and lay by East and West, was but an Iland. On we went, till we could goe no further for Ice: so we made our Ship fast to the Ice, which the Tide brought vpon vs; but when the ebbe came, the Ice did open, and made way; so as in seuen or eight houres, we were cleere from the Ice, 'till we came to weather; but onely some of the great

Ilands, that were carried along with vs to the North-west.

Hauing a cleere Sea, our Master stood to the West along by the South shoare, and raysed three Capes or Head-lands, lying one aboue another. The middlemost is an Iland, and maketh a Bay, or Harbour, which I take will proue a good one. Our Master named them *Prince Henries Cape*, or *Fore-land*. When we had layd this, we raised another, which was the extreme point of the Land, looking towards the North: vpon it are two Hills, but one, aboue the rest, like an Hay-cocke, which our Master named, *King James his Cape*. To the North of this lie certain Ilands, which our Master named *Queen Annes Cape*, or *Fore-land*. We followed the North Shoare still. Beyond the *Kings Cape* there is a Sound or Bay, that hath some Ilands in it: and this is not to be forgotten if need be. Beyond this lieth some broken Land, close to the Mayne, but what it is I know not, because we passed by it in the Night.

We stood to the North to double this Land, and after to the West againe till wee fell with Land that stretched from the Mayne, like a shewer from the South to the North, and from the North to the West, and then downe to the South againe. Being short of this Land, a Storme tooke vs, the Wind at West, we stood to the North and raysed Land; which when our Master saw, he stood to

the South againe: for he was loath at any time, that we should see the North Shoare. The Storme continuing, and comming to the South Shoare againe, our Master found himself got to the West, a great way, which made him muse, considering his Leeward way. To the South-west of this Land on the Mayne, there is an High Hill, which our Master named *Mount Charles*. To the North and beyond this, lieth an Iland, that to the East hath a faire head, and beyond it to the West, other Broken Land, which maketh a Bay within; and a good Road may be found there for Ships. Our Master named the first, *Cape Salsburie*.

When we had left this to the North-east, we fell into a Rippling or ouer-fall of a Current, which at the first, we tooke to be a Shoald: but the Lead being cast, we had no ground. On we passed, still in sight of the South Shoare, till we raysed Land lying from the Mayne some two leagues. Our Master tooke this to bee a part of the Mayne of the North Land; but it is an Iland, the North side stretching out to the West, more than to the South. This Iland hath a faire Head to the East, and very high Land, which our Master named *Deepes Cape;* and the Land on the South side, now falling a way to the South, makes another Cape or Head-land, which our Master named *Worsenham's Cape*. When we were nigh to the North or *Iland* Cape, our Master sent the Boat ashoare, with myselfe who had the charge, and the

Carpenter, and diuers others, to discover to the West and North-west, and to the South-west: but we had further to it than we thought; for the Land is very high, and we were ouertaken with a Storme of Raine, Thunder, and Lightning. But to it we came on the North-east side; and vp we got from one Roeke to another, till we came to the highest of that part. Here we found some plaine ground, and saw some Deere; as first, foure or fiue, and after, a dozen or sixteene in an Herd: but could not come nigh them with a muskct shot.

Thus, going from one place to another, we saw to the West of vs, an high Hill, aboue all the rest, it being nigh vs: but it proued further off, then we made account: for when we came to it, the Land was so steepe on the East and North-east parts, that we could not get vnto it. To the South-west we saw that we might, and towards that part we went along by the side of a great Pond of water, whieh lieth vnder the East side of this Hill: and there runneth out of it a streame of water, as much as would driue an ouer-shot Mill: which falleth downe from an high Cliffe into the Sea on the South side. In this place great store of Fowle breed; and there is the best Grasse that I had seene sinee we eame from England. Here we found Sorell, and that which wee eall Seuruy Grasse, in great abundance. Passing along we saw some round Hills of Stone, like to Grasse Cockes; which at the first I tooke to be the worke of some

Christian. We passed by them, 'till we came to the South side of the Hill: we went unto them, and there found more; and being nigh them, I turned off the vppermost stone, and found them hollow within, and full of Fowles hanged by their neckes. Then *Greene* and I, went to fetch the Boat to the South side, while *Robert Billet* and hee got downe a Valley to the Sea side, where we tooke them in.

Our Master, in this time, came in betweene the two Lands, and shot off some peeces to call vs aboord; for it was a fogge. We came aboord, and told him what we had seene, and perswaded him to stay a day or two in this place; telling him what refreshing might there bee had: but by no means would he stay, who was not pleased with the motion. So we left the Fowle, and lost our way downe to the South-west, before they went in sight of the Land, which now beares to the East from vs; being the same mayne Land that we had all this while followed. Now we had lost sight of it, because it falleth away to the East, after some fiue and twenty, or thirty Leagues. Now we came to the shallow water, wherewith we were not acquainted since we came from *Island:* now we came into broken ground and Rockes, through which we passed downe to the South. In this our Course we had a Storme, and the water did sheald apace. Our Master came to an anchor in fifteene fathoms water.

We weighed, and stood to the South-east, be-

cause the Land in this place did lie so. When we came to the point of the West Land, for we had now Land on both sides of vs, we came to an Anchor. Our Master sent the Boat ashoare, to see what that Land was, and whether there were any way through. They soon returned, and shewed that beyond the point of Land to the South, there was a large Sea. This Land on the West-side was a very narrow Point. We weighed from hence, and stood in for this Sea, betweene the two Lands, which, in this place, is not two leagues broad downe to the South, for a great way in sight of the East Shoare. In the end we lost sight thereof, and saw it not till we came to the bottome of the Bay, into sixe or seuen fathomes water. Hence we stood up to the North by the West Shoare, 'till wee came to an Iland in 53; where we tooke in water and ballast.

From hence we passed towards the North: but some two or three dayes after, reasoning concerning our comming into this Bay, and going out; our Master tooke occasion to reuiue old Matters, and to displace *Robert Juet* from being his Mate, and the Boatswaine from his place, for words spoken in the first great Bay of Ice. Then hee made *Robert Billet* his Mate, and *William Wilson* our Boatswaine. Vp to the North we stood, 'till we raysed Land, then downe to the South, and vp to the North, then downe againe to the South:

and on Michaelmasse day came in, and went out of certaine Lands, which our Master sets downe by the name of *Michaelmasse Bay*, because we came in and went out on that day. From hence we stood to the North, and came into shoald water; and the weather being thicke and foule, we came to an anchor in seuen or eight fathome water, and there lay eight dayes: in all which time we could not get one houre to weigh our anchor. But the eight day, the Wind beginning to cease, our Master would haue the anchor vp, against the mind of all who knew what belonged thereunto. Well, to it we went, and when we had brought it to a peake, a Sea tooke her, and cast vs all off from the Capstone, and hurt diuers of vs. Here we lost our Anchor, and if the Carpenter had not beene, we had lost our Cable too: but he, fearing such a matter, was ready with his Axe, and so cut it.

From hence we stood to the South, and to the South-west, through a cleere Sea of diuers sounding; and came to a Sea of two Colours, one blacke, and the other white, sixteene or seuenteene fathome water, betweene which we went four or fiue leagues. But the Night comming, we tooke in our Top-sayles, and stood afore the wind withour Maine-sayle and Fore-sayle, and came into fiue or sixe fathomes, and saw no Land for it was darke. Then we stood to the East, and had deepe water againe; then to the South and South-west, and so came to

our Westernmost Bay of all, and came to an anchor neerest to the North Shoare. Out went our Boat to the Land that was next vs; when they came neere it, our Boat could not flote to the Shoare it was so shallow: yet ashoare they got. Here our men saw the footing of a man, and a ducke, in the snowy Rockes, and wood good store, whereof they tooke some and returned aboord. Being at anchor in this place, we saw a ledge of Rockes to the South of vs, some league of length: it lay North and South, couered at a full Sea; for a strong tide setteth in here. At Mid-night we weighed, and stood to goe out as we came in; and had not gone long, but the Carpenter came and told the Master, that if he kept that Course he would be vpon the Rockes: The Master conceiued that he was past them; when presently wee ranne on them, and there stucke fast twelue houres: but by the Mercy of God, we got off vnhurt though not vnscarred.

We stood vp to the East, and raysed three Hills, lying North and South: we went to the furthermost, and left it to the North of vs, and so into a Bay, where we came to an anchor. Here our Master sent out our Boat, with myselfe and the Carpenter to seeke a place to winter in; and it was time: for the Nights were long and cold, and the earth couered with Snow. Having spent three Moneths in a Labyrinth without end, being now

the last of October, we went downe to the East, to the Bottome of the Bay: but returned without speeding of that we went for. The next day we went to the South, and the South-west, and found a place where unto we brought our Ship, and haled her aground: and this was the first of Nouember. By the tenth thereof we were frozen in: but now we were in, it behooued vs to haue care of what we had; for, that we were sure of; but what we had not, was vncertaine.

We were victualled for sixe Moneths in good proportion, and of that which was good: if our Master would haue had more, he might haue had it at home, and in other places. Here we were now, and therefore it behoued vs so to spend, that we might haue, when time came, to bring vs to the Capes where the Fowle breed; for that was all the hope we had to bring vs home. Wherefore our Master tooke order, first for the spending of that we had, and then to increase it, by propounding a reward to them that killed either Beast, Fish or Fowle; as in his Journall you haue seene. About the middle of this Moneth of Nouember, dyed *John Williams* our Gunner. God pardon the Master's vncharitable dealing with this man. Now for that I come to speake of him, out of whose ashes, as it were, that vnhappy Deed grew which brought a scandall upon all that are returned home; and vpon the Action itselfe: the multitude, like the dog,

running after the Stone, but not at the Caster: therefore, not to wrong the liuing, nor slander the dead, I will, by the leaue of God, deliuer the truth as neare as I can.

II. You shall vnderstand, that our Master kept in his house at London, a young man, named *Henry Greene*, borne in Kent of Worshipfull Parents; but by his lewd life and conuersation, hee had lost the good will of all his frinds, and had spent all that hee had. This man, our Master would haue to sea with him, because hee could write well; our Master gaue him meate, and drinke, and lodging; and by meanes of one Master *Venson*, with much adoe got foure pounds of his mother to buy him clothes, wherewith Master *Venson* would not trust him: but saw it laid out himselfe. This *Henry Greene* was not set downe in the owner's booke, nor any wages made for him. Hee came first aboord at *Grauesend*; and at *Harwich* would haue gone into the field with one *Wilkinson*. At Island the Surgeon and hee fell out in *Dutch*, and hee beat him a shoare in *English*, which set all the Company in a rage; so that we had much adoe to get the Surgeon aboord. I told the Master of it, but hee bade mee let it alone, for, said hee, the Surgeon had a tongue that would wrong the best friend hee had. But * *Robert Juet*, the Master's Mate, would

* Hudson's third Voyage to Nova Zembla, (*Purchas*, Vol. iii. Page 581.) in 1609, was written by *Robert Juet* of Limehouse.

needs burne his finger in the Embers, and told the Carpenter a long tale, when hee was drunke, that our Master had brought in *Greene* to cracke his credit that should displease him: which words came to the Master's eares, who when hee vnderstood it, would have gone backe to ISLAND, when hee was fortie leagues from thence, to have sent home his Mate *Robert Juet* in a Fisher-man. But being otherwise perswaded, all was well. So *Henry Greene* stood vpright, and very inward with the Master, and was a seruiceable man every way for Manhood; but, for Religion, hee would say, hee was cleane Paper, whereon hee might write what hee would. Now when our Gunner was dead, and, as the order is in such cases, if the Company stand in need of any thing that belonged to the man deceased, then is it brought to the Mayne Mast, and there sold to them that will giue most for the same: This Gunner had a gray cloth Gowne, which *Greene* prayed the Master to friend him so much, as to let him haue it; paying for it as another would giue: the Master saith hee should, and thereupon hee answered some, that sought to haue it, that *Greene* should haue it, and none else, and so it rested.

Now out of season and time, the Master calleth the Carpenter to goe in hand with an house on Shoare; which at the beginning our Master would not heare, when it might haue been done. The Carpenter told him, that the Snow and Frost were

such, as hee neither could, nor would goe in hand with such a worke. Which when our Master heard, hee ferretted him out of his Cabin to strike him, calling him many foule names, and threatning to hang him. The Carpenter told him that hee knew what belonged to his place, better then himselfe, and that hee was no House Carpenter. So this passed, and the House was (after) made with much labour, but to no end. The next day after the Master and the Carpenter fell out, the Carpenter tooke his Peece, and *Henry Greene* with him; for it was an order that none should goe out alone, but one with a Peece, and another with a Pike. This did moue the Master so much the more against *Henry Greene;* that *Robert Billet* his Mate must have the Gowne, and had it deliuered vnto him. Which when *Henry Greene* saw, hee challenged the Master's promise: but the Master did so raile on *Greene*, with so many words of disgrace, telling him, that all his friends would not trust him with twenty shillings, and therefore why should hee. As for wages hee had none, nor none should haue, if hee did not please him well. Yet the Master had promised him, to make his wages as good, as any mans in the Ship; and to haue him one of the Prince's guard when we came home. But you shall see, how the Deuil out of this so wrought with *Greene*, that hee did the Master what mischiefe hee could, in seeking to discredit

him, and to thrust him and many other honest men out of the Ship in the end. To speake of all our Trouble in this time of Winter (which was so cold, as it lamed the most of our Company, and my selfe doe yet feele it) would bee too tedious.

But I must not forget to shew, how mercifully God dealt with vs in this time: for the space of three Moneths we had such store of Fowle of one kinde (which were Partridges as white as milke) that we killed aboue an hundred dozen, beside others of sundry sorts: for all was Fish that came to the Net. The Spring comming, this Fowle left vs, yet they were with vs all the extreme cold. Then in their places, came diuers sorts of other Fowle, as Swaune, Geese, Duck and Teale, but hard to come by. Our Master hoped they would have bred in those broken grounds, but they doe not: but came from the South and flew to the North, further then we were this Voyage: yet if they be taken short with the wind at North, or North-west, or North-east, then they fall and stay till the wind serve them, and then flye to the North. Now in time these Fowles are gone, and few or none to bee seene. Then we went into the Woods, Hilles, and Valleyes, for all things that had any shew of substance in them, how vile soeuer: the Mosse of the ground, then the which I take the powder of a post to bee much better, and the Frogge, was not spared; but amongst the diuers sorts of Buddes, it pleased God

that *Thomas Woodhouse* brought home a budde of a Tree, full of a Turpentine substance. Of this our Surgeon made a decoction to drinke, and applyed the buddes hot to them that were troubled with ach in any part of their bodies; and for my part, I confesse, I receiued great and present ease of my paine.

About this time, when the Ice began to breake out of the Bayes, there came a Sauage to our Ship, as it were to see and to bee seene; being the first we had seene in all this time: whom our Master entreated well, and made much of him, promising vnto himselfe great matters by his meanes, and therefore would haue all the Kniues and Hatchets which any man had, to his priuate vse; but receiued none, but from *John King* the Carpenter, and my selfe. To this Sauage our Master gaue a Knife, a Looking Glasse, and Buttons, who receiued them thankefully; and made signes that after hee had slept, hee would come againe, which hee did. When hee came, hee brought with him a Sled, which hee drew after him, and upon it two Deere's skinnes, and two Beauer skinnes. Hee had a Scrip vnder his arme, out of which hee drew those things which the Master had giuen him. Hee tooke the knife and laid it vpon one of the Beauer Skinnes, and his Glasses and Buttons vpon the other; and so gaue them to the Master, who receiued them, and the Sauage tooke those things which the Master had giuen him, and put them

vp into his scrip againe. Then the Master shewed him an Hatchet, for which hee would haue giuen the Master one of his Deere skinnes, but our Master would haue them both, and so hee had, although not willingly. After many signes of People to the North, and to the South, and that after so many Sleepes he would come againe, he went his way, but neuer came more.

Now the Ice being out of the Sounds, so that our Boat might goe from one place vnto another, a company of men were appointed by the Master to go a fishing with our Net; their names were as followeth: *William Wilson*, *Henry Greene*, *Michael Perce*, *John Thomas*, *Andrew Moter*, *Bennet Mathewes*, and *Arnold Lodlo*. These men, the first day they went, caught fiue hundred Fish, as big as good Herrings, and some Troutes: which put vs all in some hope to haue our wants supplied, and our Commons amended: but these were the most that euer they got in one day; for many dayes they got not a quarter so many. In this time of their Fishing, *Henry Greene* and *William Wilson*, with some others, plotted to take the Net, and the Shallop, which the Carpenter had now set vp, and so to shift for themselues. But the Shallop being readie, our Master would goe in it himselfe to the South and Southwest, to see if hee could meete with the People; for to that end was it set vp, and that way, wee might see the Woods set on Fire by

them. So the Master tooke the Sayne and the Shallop, and so much victuall as would serue for eight or nine dayes, and to the South hee went. They that remained aboord, were to take in Water, Wood and Ballast, and to haue all things in a readinesse against he came backe. But hee set no time of his returne; for hee was perswaded, if hee could meet with the people, hee should haue flesh of them, and that good store: but hee returned worse then hee went forth. For hee could by no meanes meete with the People, although they were neere them; yet they would set the woods on fire in his sight.

III. Being returned, hee fitted all things for his Returne: and first, deliuered all the Bread out of the bread roome, which came to a pound a piece for euery man's share; and deliuered also a Bill of Returne, willing them to haue that to shew, if it pleased God, that they came home, and he wept when he gaue it vnto them. But to helpe vs in this poore estate with some reliefe, the Boate and Sayne went to worke on Friday morning, and stayed till Sunday noone: at which time they came aboord, and brought fourscore small Fish; a poore reliefe for so many hungry bellies. Then we wayed, and stood out of our Wintering Place, and came to an anchor without in the mouth of the Bay: from whence we wayed, and came to an anchor without in the Sea; where our Bread being gone, that Store of

Cheese we had was to stop a gap, whereof there were fiue; whereat the Company grudged, because they made account of nine. But those that were left, were equally diuided by the Master, although he had counsel to the contrarie. . . . I knew when *Henry Greene* gaue halfe his bread, which hee had for fourteene dayes, to one to keepe, and prayed him not to let him haue any vntill the next Munday: But before Wednesday at night, hee neuer left till hee had it againe, hauing eaten vp his first weekes bread before. So *Wilson* the Boatswaine hath eaten, in one day, his fortnight's bread, and hath beene two or three dayes sicke for his labour. The cause that moued the Master to deliuer all the Cheese, was because they were not all of one goodnesse, and therefore they should see that they had no wrong done them: but every man should haue alike the best and the worst together, which was three pounds and a halfe for seuen dayes.

The Wind serning, we weighed and stood to the North-west, and on Munday at Night, the *eighteenth day of June*, we fell into the Ice; and the next Day the Wind being at west, we lay there till Sunday in sight of Land. Now being here, the Master told *Nicholas Simmes*, that there would be a breaking vp of chests, and a search for Bread; and willed him, if hee had any, to bring it to him, which hee did, and deliuered to the Master thirty cakes in a bagge. This deede of the Master, if it bee true, hath made

mee marueli, what should bee the reason that hee did not stop the breach in the beginning; but let it grow to that height, as that it ouerthrew himselfe and many other honest men: but *there are many deuices in the heart of Man, yet the Counsell of the Lord shall stand.*

Being thus in the Ice on Saturday, the *one and twentieth of June*, at night; *Wilson* the Boatswayne, and *Henry Greene*, came to mee lying in my Cabbin lame, and told mee, that they and the rest of their associates, would shift the Company; and turne the Master, and all the sicke men into the Shallop, and let them shift for themselues. For there was not fourteen daies victual left for all the Company, at that poore allowance they were at; and that there they lay, the Master not caring to goe one way or other; and that they had not eaten any thing these three dayes, and therefore were resolute, either to mend or end; and what they had begun, they would goe through with it, or dye. When I heard this, I told them I marueiled to heare so much from them, considering that they were married men, and had Wives and Children; and that for their sakes, they should not commit so foule a thing in the sight of God and man, as that would bee: for why should they banish themselues from their Natiue Countrie? *Henry Greene* bad me hold my peace: for hee knew the worst, which was, to be hanged when hee came home; and therefore of the two hee would be rather hanged at home, then starued

abroad: and for the good will they bare me, they would haue me stay in the Ship. I gaue them thankes, and told them that I came into her, not to forsake her, yet not to hurt my selfe and others by any such deed. *Henry Greene* told me then, that I must take my fortune in the Shallop. If there bee no remedie, said I, the will of God bee done.

Away went *Henry Greene* in a rage, swearing to cut his throat, that went about to disturbe them, and left *Wilson* by me, with whom I had some talke, but to no good: for hee was so perswaded that there was no remedie now, but to goe on while it was hot, least their partie should faile them, and the mischiefe they had intended to others, should light on themselues. *Henry Greene* came againe, and demanded of him what I said. *Wilson* answered, Hee is in his old Song, still patient. Then I spake to *Henry Greene* to stay three dayes, in which time I would so deale with the Master, that all should be well. So I dealt with him to forbeare but two dayes, nay twelue houres: there is no way then, say they, but out of hand. Then I told them, that if they would stay till Munday, I would ioyne with them to share all the Victuals in the Ship, and would justifie it when I came home: but this would not serue their turnes. Wherefore I told them, it was some worse matter they had in hand, then they made shew of; and that it was blond and reuenge hee sought, or else hee would not, at such a time of

Night vndertake such a deed. *Henry Greene*, with that, taketh my Bible which lay before me, and swore that hee would doe no man harme, and what hee did was for the goode of the Voyage, and for nothing else; and that all the rest should doe the like. The like did *Wilson* sweare.

Henry Greene went his way, and presently came *Juet;* who, because he was an ancient man, I hoped to haue found some reason in him; but hee was worse then *Greene*, for hee sware plainely that hee would justify this deed when hee came home. After him came *John Thomas*, and *Michel Perce*, as birds of one feather: but because they are not liuing, I will let them goe, as then I did. Then came *Moter* and *Bennet*, of whom I demanded, *If they were well aduised what they had taken in hand.* They answered, *they were, and therefore came to take their Oath.*

Now, because I am much condemned for this Oath, as one of them that plotted with them, and that by an Oath I should bind them together to performe what they had begun; I thought good heere to set downe to the view of all, how well their oath and deedes agreed: and thus it was. *You shall sweare truth to God, your Prince and Countrie; you shall doe nothing, but to the glory of God, and the good of the action in hand, and harme to no man.* This was the Oath, without adding or diminishing. I looked for more of these Companions, although these were too many, but there came no more. It was darke,

and they in a readinesse to put this Deede of darkenesse in execution. I called to *Henry Greene* and *Wilson*, and prayed them not to goe in hand with it in the darke, but to stay till the morning. Now euery man, I hope, would goe to his rest, but wickednesse sleepeth not; for *Henry Greene* keepeth the Master company all night, and gaue mee bread, which his Cabbin mate gave him; and others are as watchful as hee. Then I asked *Henry Greene*, whom hee would put out with the Master? Hee said, the Carpenter *John King*, and the sicke men. I said, they should not doe well to part with the Carpenter, what need soeuer they should haue. —Why the Carpenter was in no more regard amongst them, was; *first*, for that hee and *John King* were condemned for wrong done in the Victuall: But the chiefest Cause was, for that the Master loued him, and made him his Mate, vpon his returne out of our Wintering Place; thereby displacing *Robert Billet*, whereat they did grudge, because hee could neither write nor read. And therefore, said they, the Master and his ignorant Mate, would carry the Ship whither the Master pleased: the Master forbidding any man to keepe account, or reckoning; hauing taken from all men whatsoeuer serued for that purpose. Well, I obtained of *Henry Greene* and *Wilson*, that the Carpenter should stay; by whose means I hoped, after they had satisfied themselues, that the Master, and the poore man might be taken into the Ship againe.

Or, I hoped, that some one or other would giue some notice, either to the Carpenter *John King*, or the Master; for so it might haue come to passe by some of them that were the most forward.

Now, it shall not be amisse to shew how we were lodged, and to begin in the Cooke roome. There lay *Bennet* and the *Cooper* lame. Without the Cooke roome, on the steere-board side, lay *Thomas Wydhouse* sicke; next to him lay *Sydrack Funer* lame; then the *Surgeon*, and *John Hudson* with him: next to them lay *Wilson* the Boatswayne, and then *Arnold Lodlo* next to him. In the Gun-roome lay *Robert Juet*, and *John Thomas;* on the Lar-boord side, lay *Michael Bute* and *Adria Moore*, who had neuer been well since we lost our Anchor; next to them lay *Michael Perce* and *Andrew Moter*. Next to them, without the Gun-roome, lay *John King*, and with him *Robert Billet;* next to them, my selfe; and next to me, *Francis Clements:* In the Midship, betweene the Capstone and the Pumpes, lay *Henry Greene*, and *Nicholas Simmes*. This night *John King* was late vp, and they thought hee had been with the Master; but hee was with the Carpenter, who lay on the Poope; and comming downe from him, was met by his Cabbin-mate, as it were by chance, and so they came to their Cabbin together. It was not long ere it was day: (then came *Bennet* for water for the Kettle.) Hee rose and went into the Hold: when hee was in, they shut

the Hatch on him, but who kept it downe I know not: vp vpon the Deck went *Bennet*.

In the meane time *Henry Greene*, and another went to the Carpenter; and held him with a Talke, till the Master came out of his Cabbin, which hee soone did: then came *John Thomas*, and *Bennet*, before him, while *Wilson* bound his armes behind him. Hee asked them what they meant? They told him hee should know when hee was in the Shallop. Now *Juet* while this was a doing, came to *John King* into the Hold, who was prouided for him: for hee had got a sword of his own, and kept him at a bay; and might haue killed him, but others came to helpe him: and so hee came vp to the Master. The Master called to the Carpenter, and told him that hee was bound; but I heard no answere hee made. Now *Arnold Lodlo* and *Michael Bute* rayled at them, and told them their knauerie would shew it selfe. Then was the Shallop haled up to the Ship side, and the poore, sicke, and lame men, were called vpon, to get them out of their Cabbins into the Shallop. The Master called to me, who came out of my Cabbin as well as I could, to the Hatchway to speake with him: where, on my knees I besought them, for the loue of God, to remember themselues, and to doe as they would be done vnto. They bade me keepe my selfe well, and get me into my Cabbin: not suffering the Master to speake with me. But when I came into

my Cabbin againe, hee called to me at the Horne, which gaue light into my Cabbin, and told me that *Juet* would overthrow vs all: nay, said I, it is that villaine *Henry Greene*, and I spake it not softly.

Now was the Carpenter at libertie, who asked them, if they would be hanged when they came home? and as for himselfe, hee said, hee would not stay in the Ship, vnless they would force him: they bad him goe then, for they would not stay him. I will, said hee, so I may haue my Chest with mè, and all that is in it: they said, hee should, and presently they put it into the Shallop. Then hee came downe to me, to take his leave of me, who perswaded him to stay, which if hee did hee might so worke that all should be well: hee said, hee did not thinke, but they would be glad to take them in againe. For hee was so perswaded by the Master, that there was not one in all the Ship; that could tell how to carrie her home; but, saith hee, if we must part, which we will not willingly doe, for they would follow the Ship; hee prayed me, if we came to The Capes before them, that I would leaue some token that we had been there, neere to the place where the Fowles bred, and hee would do the like for vs: and so, with teares, we parted. Now were the sicke Men driuen out of their Cabbins into the Shallop: but *John Thomas* was *Francis Clements* Friend, and *Bennet* was the *Coopers;* so as there were words betweene them, and *Henry Greene;* one saying, that they

should goe, and the other swearing that they should not goe, but such as were in the Shallop should returne; when *Henrie Greene* heard that, he was compelled to giue place, and to put out *Arnold Lodlo* and *Michael Bute*, which with much adoe they did.

In the mean time, there were some of them that plyed their worke, as if the Ship had beene entred by force; and they had free leaue to pillage, breaking up Chests, and rifling all places. One of them came by me, who asked me, what they should doe: I answered, hee should make an end of what hee had begun; for I saw him doe nothing, but sharke vp and downe. Now were all the poore men in the Shallop, whose names are as followeth. *Henry Hudson*, *John Hudson*, *Arnold Lodlo*, *Sydrack Faner*, *Philip Staffe*, *Thomas Woodhouse or Wydhouse*, *Adam Moore*, *Henry King*, *Michael Bute*. The Carpenter got of them a Peece, and Powder, and shot, and some Pikes; an Iron pot, with some meale and other things. They stood out of the Ice, the Shallop being fast to the sterne of the Ship: and so, when they were nigh out, for I cannot say they were cleane out, they cut her head fast from the sterne of our Ship; then out with the Top sayles, and toward the East they stood in a cleere Sea. In the end they tooke in their Topsayles, righted their Helme, and lay vnder their Fore-sayle, 'till they had ransacked and searched

all places in the Ship. In the Hold they found one of the vessels of meale whole, and the other halfe spent, for we had but two. We found also two firkins of Butter, some twentie seuen piece of Porke; halfe a bushel of Pease: but in the Master's Cabbin we found two hundred of bisket Cakes, a pecke of Meale, of Beere to the quantitie of a Butt, one with another. Now, it was said, that the Shallop was come within sight: they let fall the Mayn-sayle, and out with their Top-sayles, and flye as from an Enemy.

IV. Then I prayed them yet to remember themselues: But *William Wilson*, more than the rest, would hear of no such matter. Comming nigh the East shoare they cast about, and stood to the West, and came to an Iland, and anchored in sixteene or seuenteene fathome water. So they sent the Boat and the Net ashoare, to see if they could haue a Draught: but could not for Rocks, and great Stones. *Michael Perse* killed two Fowle, and heere they found good store of that Weede, which we called *Cockle-grasse*, in our Wintering place; whereof they gathered store, and came aboord againe. Heere we lay that night, and the best part of the next day; in all which time we saw not the Shallop, or euer after. Now *Henry Greene* came to me, and told me that it was the Companies will, that I should come vp into the Master's Cabbin, and take charge thereof. I told him it was more fit for *Robert Juet*: hee said,

hee should not come in it, nor meddle with the Master's Card, or Iournals. So vp I came, and *Henry Greene* gaue me the Key of the Master's Chest; and told me then, that he had laid the Master's things together, which hee would vse himselfe, when time did serue; the Bread was also deliuered me by tale.

The Wind seruing, we stood to the North-east; and this was *Robert Billet's* Course, contra ie to *Robert Juet*, who would haue gone to the North-west. We had the Easterne Shoare still in sight; and, in the night, had a stout Gale of Wind, and stood afore it, till we met with Ice; into the which we ranne from thinne to thicke, till we could goe no further for Ice; which lay so thicke a head of vs, and the Wind brought it after vs asterne, that we could not stirre backward, nor forward: but so lay imbayed fourteene daies in worse Ice, then euer we met to deal withall; for we had beene, where there was greater store, but it was not so broad vpon the water as this: for this floting Ice contained miles, and halfe miles in compasse, where we had a deepe Sea, and a Tide of flood and ebbe, which set North-west and South-east. Heere *Robert Juet* would haue gone to the North-west, but *Robert Billet* was confident to go through to the North-east, which hee did. At last, being cleere of this Ice, he continued his course in sight of the Easterne Shoare, till he raysed foure Ilands which lay North

and South: but we passed them six or seuen leagues, the Wind tooke vs so short. Then we stood backe to them againe, and came to an anchor betweene two of the most Northermost. We sent the Boat ashoare, to see if there were any thing there to be had, but found nothing but *Cockle Grasse;* whereof they gathered store, and so returned aboord. Before we came to this place, I might well see, that I was kept in the Ship against *Henry Greene's* minde; because I did not fauour their proceedings better then I did. Then hee began, very subtilly, to draw me to take vpon me to search for those things, which himselfe had stolne; and accused me of a matter, no lesse then Treason amongst vs, that I had deceiued the Company of thirtie Cakes of Bread.

Now they began to talke amongst themselues, that *England* was no safe place for them; and *Henry Greene* swore the Shippe should not come into any place, but keepe the Sea still, till he had the King's Majesties hand, and Seale, to shew for his safetie. They had many Deuices in ther heads, but *Henry Greene* in the end was their Captaine, and so called of them.

From these Ilands we stood to the North-east, and the Easter Land still in sight: we raysed those Ilands, that our Master called *Rumnies* Ilands. Betweene these Ilands, and the Shallow ground to the East of them, our Master went downe into the

first great Bay. We kept the East Shoare still in our sight, and comming thwart of the low Land, we ranne on a Rocke that lay vnder water, and strooke but once; for if shee had, we might haue beene made Inhabitants of that place: but God sent vs soone off without any harme that we saw. We continued our course, and raysed Land a head of vs, which stretched out to the North: which when they saw, they said plainly, that *Robert Billet* by his Northerly course, had left The Capes to the South and that they were best to seeke downe to the South in time for reliefe, before all was gone: for we had small store left. But *Robert Billet* would follow the Land to the North, saying, that he hoped in God to find somewhat to releeue vs that way, as soone as to the South. I told them that this Land was the Mayne of *Worsenhome* Cape; and that the shallow rockie ground, was the same that the Master went downe by, when he went into the great Bay. *Robert Juet*, and all said, it was not possible, vnlesse the Master had brought the Ship ouer Land; and willed them to looke into the Master's Card, and their Course how well they did agree. We stood to the East, and left the mayne Land to the North, by many small Islands into a narrow gut betweene two Lands, and there came to an Anchor. The Boat went ashoare on the North side, where we found the great *Horne*, but nothing else. The next day we went to the South

side, but found nothing there, saue *Cockle grasse* of which we gathered. This grasse was a great releefe vnto vs, for without it, we should hardly haue got to The Capes for want of victuall. The Wind seruing we stood out, but before we could get cleane out, the Wind came to the West, so that we were constrayned to anchor on the North side.

The next day, we weighed, and doubled the Point of the North Land, which is high Land, and so continueth to The Capes, lying North and South, some fiue and twentie or thirtie leagues. To the North we stood to see store of those Fowles that breed in The Capes, and to kill some with our shot, and to fetch them with our boat. We raysed The Capes with joy and bare for them, and came to the Hands that lie in the mouth of the Streight: but bearing in betweene the Rockie Iles, we ranne on a Rocke that lay vnder water, and there stucke fast eight or nine houres. It was ebbing water when we thus came on, so the Floud set vs afloat, God guiding both Wind and Sea, that it was calme, and faire weather: the Ebbe came from the East, and the Floud from the West. When we were afloat, we stood more neere to the East Shoare, and there anchored.

The next day, being the seuen and twentieth of *July*, we sent the Boat to fetch some Fowle; and the Ship should way and stand as neere as they

could: for the Wind was against vs. They had a great way to row, and by that meanes they could not reach to the place where the Fowle bred: but found good store of Gulls, yet hard to come by, on the Rockes and Cliffes; but with their peeces they killed some thirtie, and towards night returned. Now we had brought our Ship more neere to the Mouth of the Streight, and there came to an Anchor in eighteene or twentie fathom water, vpon a Riffe or Shelfe of ground; which after they had weighed their anchor, and stood more neere to the place, where the Fowle bred, they could not find it againe, nor no place like it: but were faine to turne to and fro in the mouth of the Streight, and to be in danger of Rockes; because they could not find ground to lett fall an anchor in, the water was so deepe.

The eight and twentieth day, the Boat went to *Digges his Cape* for Fowle, and made directly for the place where the Fowle bred; and being neere, they saw seuen Boates come about the Easterne point towards them. When the Sauages saw our Boate, they drew themselues together, and drew their lesser boats into their bigger; and when they had done, they came rowing to our Boate, and made signes to the West, but they made readie for all assayes. The Sauages came to them, and by signes grew familiar one with another, so as our men tooke one of theirs into our Boate; and they tooke one

of ours into their Boate. Then they carried our men to a Coue, where their Tents stood, toward the West of the place where the Fowle bred; so they carried him into their Tents, where he remayned till our men returned with theirs. Our Boate went to the place where the Fowle bred, and were desirous to know how the Sauages killed their Fowle: he shewed them the manner how, which was thus. They take a long Pole with a Snare at the end, which they put about the Fowles necke, and so plucke them downe. When our men knew that they had a better way of their owne, they shewed him the vse of our Peeces, which at one shot would kill seuen or eight. To be short, our Boate returned to their Coue for our man, and to deliuer theirs. When they came, they made great joy, with dancing and leaping, and stroking of their brests: they offered diuers things to our men, but they only tooke some Morses Teeth, which they gaue them for a knife and two glasse buttons: and so receiuing our man they came aboord, much rejoycing at this chance, as if they had met with the most simple and kind people of the World.

And *Henry Greene*, more than the rest, was so confident; that, by no means, we should take care to stand vpon our Guard: God blinding him so, that where hee made reckoning to receiue great matters from these people, he receiued more than he looked for; and that suddenly by being made a

good example for all men, that make no conscience of doing euill; and that we take heed of the Sauage people, how simple soeuer they seeme to be.

The next day, the nine and twentieth of *July*, they made haste to be ashoare; and because the Ship rid too far off, they weighed and stood as neere to the place where the Fowle bred, as they could: and because I was lame, I was to go in the Boate to carrie such things, as I had in the Cabbin, of every thing somewhat: and so with more haste then good speed, and not without swearing, away we went, *Henry Greene*, *William Wilson*, *John Thomas*, *Michael Perse*, *Andrew Moter*, and myselfe. When we came neere the Shoare, the people were on the Hils dancing and leaping: to the Coue we came, where they had drawn up their Boates. We brought our Boate to the East side of the Coue, close to the Rockes. Ashoare they went, and made fast the Boate to a great stone on the Shoare: the People came, and euery one had somewhat in his hand to barter: but *Henry Greene* swore they should haue nothing, till he had Venison, for that they had so promised him by signes.

Now when we came, they made signes to their Dogges, whereof there were many like Mongrels, as bigge as Hounds, and pointed to their Mountaine, and to the Sunne, clapping their hands. Then *Henry Greene*, *John Thomas*, and *William Wilson*, stood hard by the Boate head; *Michael Perse*,

and *Andrew Moter* were got vp vpon the Rocke, a gathering of Sorrel: not one of them had any Weapon about him, not so much as a Sticke, saue *Henry Greene* only, who had a piece of a Pike in his Hand: nor saw I any thing that they had wherewith to hurt vs. *Henry Greene* and *William Wilson*, had Looking Glasses, and Jewes Trumps, and Bels, which they were shewing the People. The Sauages standing round about them, one of them came into the Boats head to me to shew me a Bottle: I made signes to him to get him ashoare, but he made as though he had not vnderstood me; whereupon I stood vp, and pointed him ashoare. In the meane time another stole behind me to the Sterne of the Boat; and when I saw him ashoare, that was in the head of the Boat, I sate downe againe: but suddenly I saw the legge and foote of a man by mee. Wherefore I cast vp my head, and saw the Sauage with his knife in his haud, who strooke at my brest ouer my head. I cast vp my right arme to saue my brest; he wounded my arme, and strooke me into the bodie vnder my right Pappe. He strooke a second blow, which I met with my left hand, and then he strooke me into the right thigh, and had like to have cut off my little finger of the left hand. Now, I had got hold of the string of the knife, and had woond it about my left hand; he striuing with both his hands, to make an end of that he had begunne. I found him but

weake in the gripe, God enabling me, and getting hold of the sleeve of his left arme, so bare him from me. His left side lay bare to me, which when I saw, I put his sleeue off his left arme into my left hand, holding the string of the knife fast in the same hand; and hauing got my right hand at libertie, I sought for somewhat wherewith to strike him, not remembring my dagger at my side; but looking downe I saw it, and therewith strooke him into the bodie, and the throate.

Whiles I was thus assaulted in the Boat, our men were set vpon on the shoare. *John Thomas* and *William Wilson* had their bowels cut; and *Michael Perse* and *Henry Greene* being mortally wounded, came tumbling into the Boat together. When *Andrew Moter* saw this medley, hee came running downe the Rockes, and leaped into the Sea, and so swamme to the Boat; hanging on the sterne thereof, till *Michael Perse* tooke him in, who manfully made good the head of the Boat against the Sauages, that pressed sore vpon vs. Now *Michael Perse* had got an Hatchet, wherewith I saw him strike one of them, that he lay sprawling in the Sea. *Henry Greene* crieth, *Coragio!* and layeth about him with his Truncheon. I cryed to them to cleere the Boat, and *Andrew Moter* cryed to bee taken in. The Sauages betooke them to their Bowes, and Arrowes, which they sent amongst vs; wherewith *Henry Greene* was slaine out right, and

Michael Perse receiued many wounds, and so did the rest. *Michael Perse* cleereth the Boate, and puts it from the Shoare, and helpeth *Andrew Moter* in: but in turning of the Boat, I receiued a cruell wound in my backe with an Arrow. *Michael Perse*, and *Andrew Moter*, rowed the Boate away, which when the Sauages saw they ranne to their Boats, and I feared they would haue launched them to haue followed vs, but they did not; and our Ship was in the middle of the Channel, and could not see vs.

Now, when they had rowed a good way from the Shoare, *Michael Perse* fainted, and could row no more: Then was *Andrew Moter* driuen to stand in the Boat head, and waft to the Ship; which, at the first, saw vs not; and when they did, they could not tel what to make of vs, but in the end they stood for vs, and so tooke vs vp. *Henry Greene* was throwne out of the Boat into the Sea, and the rest were had aboord; the Sauage being yet aliue, yet without sense. But they died all there that day; *William Wilson* swearing, and cursing in most fearefull manner. *Michael Perse* liued two dayes after, and then died. Thus you haue heard the Tragicall end of *Henry Greene* and his Mates, whom they called Captaine: these foure being the only Iustie men in all the Ship.

The poore number that was left, were to ply our Ship to and fro, in the mouth of the Streight; for

there was no place to anchor in neere hand: besides, they were to go in the Boate to kill Fowle, to bring vs home, which they did, although with danger to vs all. For if the Wind blew, there was an high Sea, and the eddies of the Tydes would carrie the Ship so neere the Rockes, as it feared our Master, for so I will now call him. After they had killed some two hundred Fowle, with great labour on the South Cape, we stood to the East: but when we were sixe or seuen leagues from The Capes, the Wind came vp at East. Then we stood backe to The Capes againe, and killed an hundred Fowle more. After this, the Wind came to the West: so we were driuen to goe away; and then our Master stood for the most, along by the North Shoare, till he fell into broken ground about the *Queenes Fore-land*, and there anchored. From thence we went to *Gods Mercies*, and from thence to those Ilands, which lye in the Mouth of our Streight; not seeing the Land, till we were readie to runne our Bosprite against the Rockes in a fogge. But it cleered a little; and then we might see our selues inclosed with Rockie Ilands, and could find no ground to anchor in. There our Master lay atrie all night, and the next day the Fogge continuing, they sought for ground to anchor in; and found some in an hundred and odde fathomes of water. The next day we weighed, and stood to the East, but before we came heere, we

had put ourselues to hard allowance; as halfe a Foule a day with the pottage: for yet we had some meale left, and nothing else. Then they beganne to make trial of all whatsoeuer: we had flayed our Fowle for they wil not pull: and *Robert Juet* was the first, that made vse of the Skins by burning of the Feathers: so they became a great dish of meate; and as for the garbidge, it was not throwne away.

After we were cleere of these Ilands, which lie out with two points, one to the South-East, and the other to the North; making a Bay to the sight as if there were no way through; we continued our Course East South-east, and South and by East, to raise the *Desolations*, from thence to shape our course for *Ireland*. Thus we continued diuers dayes: but the Wind comming against vs, made vs to alter our Course, and by the meanes of *Robert Juet*, who perswaded the company that they should find great reliefe in *Newfound-Land*, if our Country-men were there; and if they were gone, before we came, yet should we find great store of bread and fish left ashoare by them: but how true, I giue God thankes, we did not trie. Yet we stood to the South West and to the West, almost to fiftie seuen degrees: when, by the will of God, the Wind came vp at South West. Then the Master asked me, if he should take the benefit of this Wind, and shape his Course for *Ireland*. I said it

was best to goe, where we knew Corne grew; and not to seeke it, where it was cast away, and not to be found. Towards *Ireland* now we stood, with prosperous Winds for many dayes together: then was all our meale spent, and our Fowle restie and dry: but, being no remedie, we were content with the Salt broth for Dinner, and the halfe Fowle for Supper. Now went our Candles to wracke, and *Bennet* our Cooke made a messe of meate of the bones of the fowle; frying them with Candle-grease, till they were crispe, and with vineger put to them, made a good dish of meate. Our Vineger was shared, and to euery man a pound of Candles deliuered for a weeke, as a great daintie. Now *Robert Juet*, by his reckoning, saith, we were within sixtie or seuentie leagues of *Ireland*, when we had two hundred thither. And sure our Course was so much the longer, through our euil Steeredge: for our men became so weake, that they could not stand at the Helme, but were faine to sit.

Then *Robert Juet* dyed, for mere want; and all our men were in despaire, and said we were past *Ireland;* and our last Fowle were in the steep-tub. So, our men cared not which end went forward, insomuch as our Master was driuen to looke to their labour, as well as his owne: for some of them would sit, and see the Fore-Sayle, or Mayne-Sayle flie vp to the tops, the Sheetes being either flowne or broken, and would not help it themselues, nor call

to others for helpe; which much grieued the Master. Now in this extremitie, it pleased God to giue vs sight of Land! not farre from the place our Master said he would fall withal, which was the Bay of *Galloway*, and we fell to the West of the *Derses*, and so stood along by the Coast, to the South West. In the end, there was a joyful cry, a *Sayle!* a *Sayle!* towards which they stood; then they saw more; but to the neerest we stood, and called to him: his Barke was of *Foxy*, and was at anchor a Fishing. He came to vs, and brought vs into *Bere Hauen*. Here we stayed a few dayes, and delt with the *Irish*, to supply our wants, but found no reliefe: for in this place there was neither Bread, Drinke, nor Money to be had amongst them. Wherefore they aduised vs to deale with our Country-men, who were there a fishing, which we did: but found them so cold in kindnesse, that they would do nothing without present money, whereof we had none in the Ship. In the end, we procured one *John Waymouth*, Master of the Barke that brought vs into this Harbour, to furnish us with Money; which hee did, and receiued our best Cable and Anchor in pawne for the same. With this Money, our Master with the helpe of *John Waymouth*, bought Bread, Beere, and Beefe.

Now, as we were beholding to *Waymouth* for his money, so were we to one Captaine *Taylor*,

for making of our Contracts with *Waymouth*, by whose meanes hee tooke a Bill for our Cable, and Anchor; and for the Mens wages, who would not goe with vs, vnlesse *Waymouth* would pass his word for the same: for they made shew, that they were not willing to goe with vs for any wages. Whereupon Captaine *Taylor* swore hee would presse them; and then, if they would not goe, hee would hang them.

In conclusion, we agreed, for three pound ten shillings a man, to bring our Ship to *Plimouth* or *Dartmouth;* and to giue the Pilot fiue pound: but if the Wind did not serue, but that they were driuen to put into *Bristow*, they were to haue foure pound ten shillings a man, and the Pilot sixe pound. Omitting therefore further circumstances, from *Bere Hauen* we came to *Plimouth*, and so to an anchor, before the Castle: and from *Plimouth*, with faire winde and weather, without stop or staye, we came to the *Downes;* from thence to *Grauesend*, where most of our men went ashoare; and from thence came on this side Erith, and there stopped. Where our Master *Robert Billet* came aboord, and so had mee vp to London with him, and so we came to Sir Thomas *Smith's* together.

*** *Forasmuch as this Report of* PRICKET *may happely bee suspected by some, as not so friendly to* HUDSON; *who returned with that Companie which had so cruelly exposed* HUDSON *and his,*

and therefore may seeme to lay heauier imputation, and rip vp occasions further then they will beleeue; I haue also added the Report of THOMAS WIDHOUSE, *one of the exposed Companie, who ascribeth those occasions of discord to* JUET. *I take not on mee to sentence, no not to examine: I haue presented the Euidence just as I had it. Let the Bench censure, hearing with both eares, that which with both eyes they may see in those, and these Notes. . . . .*

V. *A note found in the Deske of Thomas Widhouse, Student in the Mathematickes, hee being one of them who was put into the Shallop.*

The tenth day of September 1610, after dinner, our Master called all the Companie together, to heare and beare witnesse of the abuse of some of the Companie; it hauing beene the request of *Robert Juet*, that the Master should redresse some abuses and slanders, as hee called them, against this *Juet*: which thing, after the Master had examined, and heard with equitie what he could say for himselfe; there were prooued so many and great abuses, and mutinous matters against the Master, and action by *Juet*, that there was danger to haue suffred them longer: and it was fit time to punish and cut off farther occasions of the like Mutinies.

It was prooued to his face, first with *Bennet Mathew* our Trumpet vpon our first sight of *Island*; and hee confest, that hee supposed that in the action

would bee man slaughter, and proue bloodie to some.

Secondly, at our comming from *Island*, in hearing of the Companie, hee did threaten to turne the head of the Ship home from the action; which at that time was by our Master wisely pacified, hoping of amendment.

Thirdly, it was deposed by *Philip Staffe*, our Carpenter, and *Ladlie Arnold*, to his face, vpon the holy Bible; that hee perswaded them to keepe Muskets charged, and Swords readie in their Cabbins; for they should be charged with shot, ere the Voyage were ouer.

Fourthly, we being pestered in the Iee, hee had vsed words tending to Mutinie, Discouragement, and Slander of the Action; which easily tooke effect in those that were timorous: and had not the Master in time preuented, it might easily have ouerthrowne the Voyage: and now lately, being imbayed in a deepe Bay, which the Master had desire to see, for some reasons to himselfe knowne; his word tended altogether to put the Companie into a fray of Extremitie, by wintering in cold. Jesting at our Master's hope to see *Bantam* by Candlemasse.

For these, and diuers other base Slanders against the Master, hee was deposed; and *Robert Bylot*, who had shewed himselfe honestly respecting the good of the Action, was placed, in his stead, the Master's Mate.

Also *Francis Clement* the Boatson, at this time was put from his Office, and *William Wilson*, a man thought more fit, preferred to his place. This man had basely carried himself to our Master, and to the Action.

Also *Adrian Mooter* was appointed Boatson's mate; and a promise by the Master, that from this day *Juet's* Wages should remaine to *Bylot;* and the Boatson's ouerplus of Wages should bee equally diuided betweene *Wilson* and one *John King*, to the owners good liking; one of the Quarter Masters, who had very well carryed themselues to the furtherance of the businesse.

Also the Master promised, if the Offenders yet behaued themselues henceforth honestly, hee would bee a meanes for their good, and that hee would forget iniuries with other admonitions.

These things thus premised, touching Hudson's exposing, and God's just Judgements on the Exposers, as *Pricket* hath related; whom they reserued, as is thought, in hope by Sir *Dudley Digges* his Master to procure their pardon at their returne; I thought good to adde, that which I haue further receiued from good Intelligence. That the Ship comming aground at *Digges* Island, in 62 degrees 44 minutes, a great Flood came from the West and set them on floate. An argument of an open Passage from the South Sea to that, and consequently to these Seas. The Weapons and Arts, which they

saw, beyond those of other Sauages, are Arguments hereof. Hee which assaulted *Pricket* in the Boate, had a Weapon broad and sharpe indented of bright Steele, such they vse in *Jaua*, riuited into an handle of Morse tooth.

VI. Considerable attention has been paid to this melancholy Voyage by Hudson, in Forster's *Northern Discoveries; from which the following additional remarks are extracted.

"The Company which had joined in fitting out the Ships for this Expedition, had made a Clause, that HUDSON should take with him, by way of assistant, one *Coleburne*, (Fox calls him *Coolbrand*), a very experienced and able Seaman: Fox says, that he was preferable to Hudson in every respect. But this great confidence of the Owners in *Coleburne's* skill excited Hudson's envy: accordingly he sent him from *Lee* on the River Thames, to *London*, with a Letter to the Proprietors; in which he alledged his reasons for having taken this step. All those who have given an account of the Voyage, assert that this rash step of HUDSON was in part the source of his Misfortunes; and had set the Crew an example of disobedience to the commands of their Superiors, and of the neglect of that consideration and respect, which is due from every one to his Commander. . .

"While Hudson was in Davis's Straits, between a great quantity of Ice, he saw a large Mountain of

* Page 332. English Translation.

Ice overturn, which served them as a warning, not to go near these high Masses of Ice. It seems *Pricket* was ignorant of the real Cause of this overturning of the Ice-mountain, which, in Fact, lies in their bursting asunder.—By the great quantity of Ice accumulated in *Davis's Straits*, Hudson was obliged to go to the Westward, and consequently, without intending it, to make the discovery of the Strait and Bay, called after his name.

" This Voyage, notwithstanding all the important Discoveries made in the course of it, cost poor Hudson, and the few People who were with him, their Lives. Never perhaps was the heart of Man possessed by ingratitude of a blacker dye, than that of the infamous Villain *Green*. Hudson had saved this Wretch from perdition, had cherished him with the utmost kindness in his own house; and had, but with too much weakness taken his part, even then, when he had been guilty of the greatest misdemeanors: notwithstanding which, this outcast of Society had the wickedness to stir up the rest of the Crew against their Commander; and to expose his benefactor and second Father, without Clothes and Arms, and without Provisions, in a small Boat, to the open Sea, in an inhospitable Climate, where none but savage Beasts, and still more savage Men, dwelt; and where, during the greatest part of the Year, all is covered with Snow, and Ice.—It is scarcely to be believed, yet it is certainly true,

that the foundation of all this lay in the bad constitution of the laws with respect to Navigation and Seamen. It is scarcely forty Years since an Act was passed, by which Seamen belonging to the Royal Navy, who should refuse to obey their Officers' orders, after suffering Shipwreck, were made liable to be punished; and even now, it is only the Officers of the Royal Navy who have the privilege of punishing such as have committed any misdemeanor, or have been guilty of any infraction of the Articles of War.

" At Cape *Diggs* they found Reindeer, Sorrel, and Scurvy Grass *(Cochlearia Officinalis.)* It struck me very much, in my Voyage round the World, to find that the Shores of all the Countries, which we visited, were abundantly furnished with Herbs, which are Antidotes to the Scurvy. . . . . It would seem, as if Providence had intentionally distributed on these Spots, for the benefit of the Inhabitants of the Sea Coast, and of the People returning from long Voyages; such Plants as might be serviceable in mitigating the dreadful symptoms and effects of the Scurvy. Neither has the afflicted Mariner far to go after them; as, almost the first step he takes on Shore, he finds under his feet those wholesome Plants, so well adapted to his wants.

" It is really inconceivable, what an astonishing quantity of different kind of Grons, there is every year caught and eaten in the Factories of the *Hud-*

son's Bay Company. Of Ptarmigans alone they kill more than 10,000. While Hudson's Bay was in the hands of the French, from the year 1697 to 1714; a French Governor at Fort *Bourbon*, together with his Garrison, consisting of eighty Men, ate in one Winter, 90,000 spotted Grous, and Ptarmigans, and 25,000 Hares. To the above account must be added in the Spring, the immense number of Swans, Geese, and Ducks, which are eaten there; besides which they catch a great many Rein Deer. It is therefore astonishing, that HUDSON, who used to act with so much prudence and forecast in every thing, should not have taken care to have preserved, out of the hundred dozen of Ptermigans which they caught in the Winter, at least some few dozen for a store of Provision in the Spring, and on the Voyage. But probably, the Mutiny of his Crew was the Cause of this neglect."

In the Year 1612, The *Resolution*, and the *Discovery* sailed under the command of the Captains *Button* and *Ingram*, to HUDSON'S Straits, but could hear nothing of that unfortunate Navigator. Captain Button's first Mate bore the name of *Nelson*, a Seaman of great experience and knowledge; and from him the place where they wintered, and where he was buried, on the north side of a River, in 57° 10′ N. was named *Fort Nelson* and *Nelson's River*.

Mr. *Ellis* in his * Historical account of the several Expeditions to discover a N. W. Passage, passes an high Encomium on the Abilities of HUDSON, and on the gentleness of his Temper: "in point of Skill inferior to few, in regard to Courage surpassed by none, and in point of Industry and Labour hardly equalled by any. He was taken into the Service of a Company of eminent Merchants, who were bent on making a Discovery of a shorter Passage to the *East Indies*, whether by the North, the North East, or the North West; and in their Service he searched for every one of these: neither does it appear from any of the accounts now extant, that any Company were ever at so great an Expence, persisted so long, or did so much towards clearing up this point, as the Company by which HUDSON was employed; and yet it does not appear, that they had any particular or private Views; but took all this pains for the sake of those Advantages that must have resulted to the Public, in case their Endeavours had succeeded. It is justly to be regretted, that the names of these generous Persons have not been preserved to Posterity; but that all we know of them is, that they were, CERTAIN WORSHIPFUL MERCHANTS OF LONDON.

* Prefixed to his Voyage to *Hudson's Bay* by the *Dobbs Galley*, and *California*, in the Years 1746, and 1747.—Published by *Whitridge* in 1748. (Page 26.)

Robson * in his account of six Years residence in *Hudson's Bay*, gives us the following statement, of the gradual and complete discovery of its Coast. "*Hudson* discovered all the Strait, and the East and South Coast of the Bay. Sir *Thomas Button* in 1612, discovered all the West side of *Nelson's* River to *Ne Ultra* in 65°, and *Cary's* Swan's Nest. *Bylot* and *Baffin*, who had been in both the former Voyages, in 1615, discovered the North-West part of the Straits to Cape *Comfort* in 65°; and *Baffin* in 1616, sailed to the Bay in 78°, which is called after him. The Captains *James* and *Fox*, sailed in 1631: *James* discovered all the South-East, South, and South-West Sides of the Bay, from *Nelson* River Southward, and wintered in *Charleton* Island; and *Fox* discovered all the West of the Bay, from *Henrietta Maria* in 55°, to the *Welcome* in 64° 30′ and the East of *Cary's Swan's Nest*, beyond *Cape Comfort*, to Lord *Weston's Portland* in 66° 47′, where the Coast rounded away to the South East, ending in a Bay: So that the whole Strait, Bay, and Labrador Coast were discovered by the English, without any Competitors, except *Munck*; who was sent by the King of Denmark in 1619, when he wintered in *Churchill*, or *Seal* River; but I rather think in *Churchill* River: a brass Gun being taken up there some Years

* Payne and Bonquet, 1752. (Page 4.)

after *Hudson* and *Button* had discovered all the Strait and Bay."

I cannot conclude this Chapter better, than by inserting the merited Praise which Commodore *Phipps* gave to these his Predecessors: "I am happy in an opportunity of doing Justice to the Memory of these Men; which, without having traced their steps, and experienced their difficulties, it would have been impossible to have done. They appear to have encountered Dangers, which at that period must have been particularly alarming from their Novelty, with the greatest Fortitude, and Perseverance; as well as to have shewn a degree of Diligence and Skill, not only in the ordinary and practical, but more scientific parts of their Profession; which might have done honour to Modern Seamen, with all the advantages of later Improvements."

CHAPTER IV.

GOD'S POWER AND PROVIDENCE

SHEWED IN THE

MIRACULOUS PRESERVATION AND DELIVERANCE

OF

EIGHT ENGLISH-MEN,

LEFT BY MISCHANCE IN

GREENLAND,

Anno 1630,

NINE MONTHS AND TWELVE DAYS.

(Churchill's Collection, Vol. iv. Page 750.)

The first account was published by Dr. W. Watts.

With a True Relation of all their Miseries, the Shifts and Hardships they were put to, their Food; such as neither Heathen nor Christian ever before endured.

Faithfully reported by EDWARD PELHAM, *one of the Eight Men aforesaid.*

To the Right Worshipful Sir John Merick, Governor of the Worshipful Company of Muscovy Merchants: Sir Hugh Hamersley, Knight and

Alderman of the City of London; and to the Worshipful Mr. Alderman Freeman; Captain William Goodler; and to all the rest of the Worshipful Assistants and Adventurers in the said famous Company; EDWARD PELHAM dedicateth both this, and his future Labours.

Right Worshipful and most famous Merchants

THE hard Adventure my poor Self and Fellows underwent in your Worships' service, is a great deal pleasanter for others to read, than it was for us to endure. However hard, we have now endured it; and if ever after ages shall speak of it (as the World still doth of the *Dutch-men's* hard Winter in *Nova Zembla)* thus much of the Voyage shall redound to your Honours; that it was done by your Servants. This may also return to our Country's good: that if the first inhabiting of a Country by a Prince's subjects (which is the king of *Spain's* best title to his *Indies*) doth take possession of it for their Soveraign: then is GREENLAND, by a second right, taken *Livery* and *Seisin* of, for his Majesty's use; his Subjects being the first that ever did (and I believe the last that ever will) inhabit there. Many a rich return may your Worships in general, and the brave Adventurers in particular, receive from this, and all other places; and may your Servants be ever hereafter warned to take heed by our harms. *God send*

your Worships long life, and much honour, and sufficient wealth to maintain both. This is the hearty Prayer of your Worships' poor servant,

EDWARD PELHAM.

TO THE READER.

COURTEOUS READER: *that God may have the only glory of this our Deliverance, give me leave to look back unto that Voyage, which the Dutchmen made into Nova Zembla, in the year* 1596. *In which place, they having been (like ourselves) overtaken with the Winter, were there forced to stay it out, as we were. Which being an action so famous all the world over, encouraged me both to publish this of ours, as also now to draw out some comparisons with them; that so our Deliverance, and God's glory, may appear both the more gracious, and the greater.*

This Nova Zembla stands in the degree 76, *North latitude; our Wintering place is in* 77 *degrees and* 40 *minutes, that is, almost two degrees nearer the North Pole than they were; and so much therefore the colder. The* DUTCH *were furnished with all things necessary both for life and health; had no want of any thing: Bread, Beer, and Wine, they had good, and good store. Victuals they had*

God's plenty; and Apparel both for present cloathing, and for shift too: and all this they brought with them in their Ship. We (God knows) wanted all these; Bread, Beer, and Wine we had none. As for Meat, our greatest and chiefest Feeding was the Whale Frittars, and those mouldy too; the loathsomest meat in the world. For our Venison, 'twas hard to find, but a great deal harder to get: and for our third sort of Provision, the Bears, 'twas a measuring Cast which should be eaten first, we or the Bears, when we first saw one another: and we perceived by them, that they had as good hopes to devour us, as we to kill them. The Dutch *killed Bears, 'tis true, but 'twas for their skins, not for their flesh. The* Dutch *had a Surgeon in their Company; we none but the great Physician to take care of and cure us. They had the benefit of bathing and purging, we of neither. They had their Ship at hand to befriend them; we had here perished, had not other Ships fetcht us off. They had Card and Compass, we no direction.*

If the Dutch *complained there of the extremity of the Cold (as well they might) and that when, in building their House, they (as carpenters use to do) put the iron nails into their mouths, they there froze, and stuck so fast, that they brought off the skin, and forced blood; how cold think you,*

were we, that were forced to maintain two Fires to keep our very mortar from freezing. The DUTCH *complained, that their walls were frozen two inches thick, on the inside, for all their fire; and if ours were not so, 'twas our Pains and Industry at first in building. The Dutch men's Cloaths froze upon their backs, and their Shoes were like horns upon their feet: but that was their own ignorance; for they had sea-Coals enough with them, if they had known how to use them. If their Drink and Sack were so hard frozen into lumps of Ice, that they were forced to cut it out; how much harder was it for us, that were forced to make hot irons our best toasts to warm the Snow withal, for our morning draughts! they used heated Stones and Billets to their feet and bodies to warm them; which, though an hard shift, yet was it better than we had any.*

Lay now all these together: the distance of place, we being many miles more into the Cold than they; the want both of Meat and Cloaths; and, that the house we lived in, we had but three days respite to build for nine months to come; and then may the World see, that the DUTCH *had the better provisions, and we the abler bodies. If therefore, the Dutch men's Deliverance was worthily accounted a Wonder; our's can amount to little less than a*

Miracle. The greater therefore our Deliverance, the greater must be God's glory: and that's the Author's purpose in publishing of it. God keep the Readers from the like dangers. So prays he that endured what he here writes of,

EDWARD PELHAM.

The names of the Men thus staying in Greenland for nine months and twelve days.

WILLIAM FARELEY,	Gunner.
EDWARD PELHAM,	Gunner's Mate, the author of this Relation.
JOHN WISE,	Seamen.
ROBERT GOODFELLOW,	
THOMAS AYRES,	Whale-cutter.
HENRY BETT,	Cooper.
JOHN DAWES,	Landmen.
RICHARD KELLET,	

But we had the sentence of Death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God which raiseth the dead.

Who delivered us from so great a Death, and doth deliver: In whom we trust that He will yet deliver us. 2 Cor. i. ver. 9, 10.

I. GREENLAND is a country very far northward, situated in seventy-seven degrees and forty minutes, that is, within twelve degrees and twenty minutes of the very North Pole itself. The Land is wonderful mountainous; the Mountains all the year long full of Ice and Snow: the Plains in part bare in summer time. There grows neither tree nor herb in it, except *Scurvy-grasse* and Sorrel. The Sea is as barren as the Land, affording no fish but Whales, Sea horses, Seals, and another small fish. And thither there is a yearly Fleet of *English* sent.

We eight men therefore being employed in the service of the right worshipful company of *Muscovy* Merchants, in the good ship called the *Salutation* of *London*, were bound for this *Greenland* aforesaid, to make a Voyage upon *Whales* or *Sea horse* for the advantage of the Merchants, and the good of the Commonwealth. We set sail from London the first day of May 1630, and having a fair gale, we quickly left the fertile banks of England's pleasant shoars behind us. After which, setting our comely Sails to this supposed prosperous Gale, and ranging

through the boisterous billows of the rugged Seas, by the help and gracious assistance of Almighty God, we safely arrived at our desired Port in GREENLAND, the eleventh day of *June* following. Whereupon, having moored our Ships, and carried our Cask ashoar; we, with all expedition, fell to the fitting up of our Shallops, with all things necessary for our intended Voyage. We were in company three Ships; all which were then appointed by the order of our Captain, *Captain William Goodler*, to stay at the Foreland until the fifteenth of *July;* with resolution, that if we could not by that time make a Voyage according to our expectation, then to send one Ship to the eastward unto a fishing place, some fourscore leagues from thence; whither at the latter end of the year, the Whales use more frequently to resort. A second of the three Ships was designed for *Green-harbour*, a place some fifteen leagues distant to the southward, there to try her skill and fortune, if it were possible there to make a Voyage. The third Ship (which was the same wherein we were,) was appointed to stay at the Foreland until the twentieth of *August*. But the Captain, having made a great Voyage at *Bell Sownd*, dispatches a Shallop towards our Ship, with a command unto us to come to him at *Bell Sownd* aforesaid. His purpose being both, to have us take in some of his *Trane-Oyl*, as also by joyning our forces together, to make the Fleet so much the stronger for

the defence of the Merchants' goods homeward bound; the *Dunkirkers* being very strong and rife at sea in those days. Upon the eighth day of *August* (thereupon) leaving the Foreland, we directed our course to the southward, towards *Green-harbour;* there to take in twenty of our men, which had out of our Ship's company been sent into the lesser Ship, for the furtherance of our Voyage.

But the Wind being now contrary, our Ship could no way lye our course. The fifteenth day being calm and clear, and our Ship now in the Offing some four leagues from Black-point, and about five from the Maidens-papps, (which is a place famous both for very good, and for great store of Venison,) our Master sent us eight men here named, altogether in a Shallop, for hunting and killing of some Venison for the Ship's provision. We thus leaving the Ship, and having taken a brace of dogs along with us, and furnished ourselves with a Snaphance, two lances, and a tinder-box; we directed our course towards the Shoar, where in four hours we arrived, the weather being at that time fair and clear, and every way seasonable to the performance of our present intentions. *That day we laid fourteen tall and nimble deer along;* and being very weary, and thoroughly tired, first with rowing and now with hunting; we fell to eat such Victuals as we had brought along: agreeing to take our rest for that night, and the next day to make an end of

our Hunting, and so fairly to return to our Ship again. But the next Day, as it pleased God, the Weather falling out something thick, and much Ice in the Offing betwixt the Shoar and the Ship (by reason of a Southerly Wind driving along the Coast) our Ship was forced to stand off into the Sea, to be clear of the Ice, that we had quite lost sight of her. Neither could we assure ourselves, whether she were inclosed in the drift of Ice or not: and the Weather still growing thicker and thicker, we thought it our best course to hunt along the shoar, and so to go for *Green-harbour;* there to stay aboard the Ship with the rest of our men, until our Ship should come into the Port.

Coasting thus along towards *Green-harbour*, we killed eight Deer more, and so at last having well loaded our Shallop with Venison, we still kept on our Course to *Green-harbor:* Where arriving upon the seventeenth day, (we found to our great wonderment) that the Ship was departed thence, together with our twenty men aforesaid. That which increased our admiration was, for that we knew, they had not victuals sufficient aboard, to serve them (by proportion) homewards bound: Which made us again wonder, what should be the reason of their so sudden departure.

II. Perceiving ourselves thus frustrated of our expectation, and having now but bare three days (according to appointment) to the uttermost ex-

piration of our limited time of our departure out of the Country; we thought it our best course to make all possible speed to get to *Bell Sownd*, unto our Captain: fearing that a little delay might bring a great deal of danger. For the lightening therefore of our Shallop, that she might make the better way through the waters, we heaved our Venison overboard, and cast it all into the sea. Having thus forsaken *Green-harbor*, with a longing desire to recover *Bell Sownd* (from thence distant some sixteen leagues to the southward) that Night we were got half way about the point of the *Nesse*, or point of land called *Low-Nesse:* But the darkness, or misty fog increasing fast upon us, it was impossible for us to get further: even there, between two rocks, we coved from the seventeenth day at night, until the eighteenth day at noon. At which time the weather being somewhat clearer, though very thick still, we left the *Nesse* behind us, still desirous to recover *Bell Sownd:* But having never a Compass to direct our Course by, nor any of our Company that was Pilot sufficient to know the Land when he saw it, we were fain to grabble in the dark (as it were) like a blind man for his way; and so over shot *Bell-Point* at least ten leagues to the Southward, toward *Horn Sownd.*

Some of us in the mean time, knowing that it was impossible to be so long a rowing and sailing of eight leagues (for we did both row and sail,) made

enquiry, *How the Harbor lay in?* whereunto there was a ready answer made, *That it lay East in.* Taking the matter therefore into our better consideration, some of us judged, that it could not possibly be further to the Southward: our reason being, our Observation of the Land's rounding away, and *trenting* towards the eastward; and resolved thereupon, to row no further on that Course for the finding of *Bell Sownd.* And though we were again persuaded by *William Fakely* our gunner (a proper Seaman, though no skilful Mariner, who had been in the country five or six times before, which none of our Seamen had been) that it was further to the Southward; yet we, trusting better to our own reasons than to his persuasions, again returned towards the Northward, which was our best and directest Course, indeed, for the finding of *Bell Sownd.* Steering of which Course, we were now come within two Miles of *Bell Point*; and the weather being fair and clear, we presently decryed the tops of the lofty Mountains. *William Fakely*, thereupon, looking about him, presently cries out unto us, *That we were all this while upon a wrong Course:* Upon hearing of which words, some of our Company (yea the most) were persuaded to *wend* about the Boat's head the second time, unto the Southward. Which one action was the main and only cause of our too late repentance: though for mine own part (as it is well known) I never gave consent unto their Counsel.

And thus upon the fatal 20th day of August, which was the utmost of our limited time for staying in the country, we again returned quite the contrary way, namely to the Southward. Thus utterly uncertain, when and where to find the Sownd, a thousand sad Imaginations overtook our perplexed minds; all of us assuredly knowing, that a million of Miseries would of necessity ensue, if we found not the Ships, whereby to save our passage. In this distracted time of our thoughts, we were now again the second time, run as far to the Southward as at first; and finding, by all reason thereupon, how that there was no likelihood at all of finding any such place further to the Southward, we *wended* the Shallop the second time unto the Northward. *William Fakely* hereupon, being unwilling to condescend unto our agreement, still persuaded us, that *That could not possibly be our Course:* But we not trusting any longer unto his unskillful persuasions (though all in him was out of good Will, and strong conceit of being in the right) bent our course to the Northward; and, he not consenting to steer any longer, I took the oar out of his hand to steer the Boat withal. The Weather all this while continued fair and clear, and it pleased God at that very instant of time to send the Wind *Easterly:* which advantage we thankfully apprehending, presently set sail. The Wind increased fresh and large, and our Shallop swiftly running,

we arrived the one and twentieth day at *Bell Point;* where we found the Wind right out of the *Sownd*, at *East north east*, so fiercely blowing, that we could not possibly row to *windwards:* but being forced to take in our Sail, we were fain to betake ourselves unto our Oars; by help of which we recovered some two miles within the shore, where we were constrained for that time to *Cove*, or else drive to *Leewards*.

Thus finding this to be the very Place, we had all this while sought for, (he also now agreeing thereunto,) we forthwith sought out, and found an Harbor for our *Shallop;* and having brought her thereunto, two of our men were presently dispatched over land, unto the *Tent* at *Bell Sownd*, to see if the Ships were still there. Of which, by reason of the Time being expired, and the opportunity of the present fair Wind, we were much afraid. The Tent being distant ten miles at least from our Shallop, our men at their coming thither, finding the Ships to be departed out of the Road, and not being certain, whether or not they might be at *Bottle Cove* (three leagues distant on the other side of the Sownd) riding there under a *Loom* of the Land; again returned unto us with this sad news. The Storm of Wind hitherto continuing, about midnight fell a stark Calm: whereupon we, unwilling to lose our first opportunity, departed towards *Bottle Cove*, betwixt hope and fear finding the

Ships there. Whither coming, the two and twentieth, and finding the Ships departed, we, having neither Pilot, Plat, nor Compass for our directors to the eastward, found ourselves (God he knoweth) to have little hope of any delivery out of that apparent danger. Our Fears increased upon us, even whilst we consulted whether it were safest for us either to go or stay. If go, then thought we upon the dangers in sailing, by reason of so much Ice in the way; as also of the difficulty in finding the place, when we should come thereabouts. If we resolved still to remain at *Bell-Sownd*, then we thought that no other thing could be looked for, but a miserable and a pining Death: seeing there appeared no possibility of inhabiting there, or to endure so long, so darksome and so bitter a Winter.

And thus were our Thoughts at that time distracted, thus were our Fears increased; nor were they causeless Fears altogether. We well knew that neither christian nor heathen People had ever before inhabited those desolate and untemperate Climates.—This also, to increase our Fears, had we certainly heard: how that the Merchants, having in former times much desired, and that with proffer of great rewards for the hazarding of their lives, and of sufficient furniture, and provision of all things that might be thought necessary for such an undertaking, to any that would venture to winter

in those parts; could never yet find any so hardy, as to expose their lives to so hazardous an undertaking: Yea, notwithstanding these proffers had been made both unto Mariners of good experience, and of noble resolutions, and also unto divers other bold Spirits; yet had the action of Wintering in those parts never by any been hitherto undertaken.—This also had we heard; how that the company of *Muscovy* Merchants, having once procured the reprieve of some Malefactors, that had here at home been convicted by law for some heinous crimes committed; and that both with promise of pardon for their faults, and with addition of rewards also, if so be they would undertake to remain in *Greenland* but one whole year, and that every way provided for too, both of Cloaths, Victuals and all things else, that might any way be needful for their preservation; these poor Wretches hearing of this large proffer, and fearing present execution at home, resolved to make tryal of the Adventure. The time of Year being come, and the Ships ready to depart, these condemned Creatures are imbarked; who after a certain space there arriving, and taking a view of the desolateness of the Place, they conceived such a horror and inward fear in their hearts, as they resolved rather to return for *England*, to make satisfaction with their lives for their former faults committed, than there to remain; though with the assured hope of gaining

their pardon. Insomuch, as the time of year being come, that the Ships were to depart from these barren Shoars, they made known their full intent to the Captain: who being a pitiful and a merciful Gentleman, would not by force constrain them to stay in that place, which was so contrary to their minds; but having made his Voyage by the time expired, he again embarked, and brought them over with him into *England*; where, through the intercession and means of the Worshipful Company of *Muscovy* Merchants, they escaped that death which they had before been condemned unto. The remembrance of these two former Stories, as also of a third (more terrible than both the former, for that was likely to be our own case,) more miserably now affrighted us: and that was, *the lamentable and unmanly ends of Nine good and able Men, left in the same place heretofore, by the self same Master that now left us behind*; who all died miserably upon the place; being cruelly disfigured after their Deaths by the savage Bears and hungry Foxes; which are not only the civilest, but also the only inhabitants of that comfortless Country. The lamentable ends and miscarriage of which Men, had been enough indeed to have daunted the spirits of the most noble resolution.

All these fearful Examples, presenting themselves before our eyes, at this place of *Bottle Cove* aforesaid; made us, like amazed Men, to stand looking

one upon another: all of us, as it were, beholding in the present, the future Calamities both in himself and of his fellows. And thus like Men already metamorphosed into the Ice of the Country, and already passed both our Senses and Reason, stood we with the eyes of pity beholding one another.

Nor was it other Men's Examples, and Miscarriages, and Fears alone, that made us amazed; but it was the consideration of our want of all necessary Provision for the life of Man, that already struck us to the heart: For we were not only unprovided both of Cloaths to keep us warm, and of Food to prevent the wrath of cruel famine; but utterly destitute, also we were, of a sufficient House, wherein to shrowd and shelter ourselves from the chilling Cold. Thus for a space standing all mute and silent, weighing with ourselves the Misery we were already fallen into, and knowing Delay in these extremities to be the Mother of all Dangers; we began to conceive Hope even out of the depth of Despair. Rowsing up our benumbed Senses, therefore, we now lay our Heads and Counsels together, to bethink ourselves of the likeliest course for our Preservation in that Place; seeing that all hopes of gaining our Passage into *England* were then quite frustrate. Shaking off, therefore, all childish and effeminate Fears, it pleased God to give us Hearts like Men, to arm ourselves with a resolution to do our best, for the resisting of that

Monster of Desperation. An Agreement, thereupon, by a general consent of the whole Company we then entered into; to take the opportunity of the next fair Weather, and go for *Green-harbour*, to hunt and kill Venison for part of our Winter Provision.

III. Having thus agreed amongst ourselves, the 25th day of August, the Weather and Wind being both fair, we directed our course towards *Green-harbour*, some sixteen leagues (as I before told you) distant from *Bell-Sownd;* and the Wind being fresh and fair, within the space of twelve hours we there arrived.—Upon which Place being now landed, the first thing we did, was to make us a Tent with the Sail of our Shallop, pitched up and spread upon our Oars. A sorry one (God knows) though it were, yet under it we resolved to rest ourselves that Night to refresh our bodies, with such food as we there had; and the next day to return again to our hunting. The Weather that Night proving fair and clear, we made our sleep the shorter: and alas! what men could sleep in that extremity! and fitting ourselves and Shallop the best we might, to *Cole's Park* we went, a place some two leagues distant from us, and well known to *Thomas Ayres*, that was one of our Company, to be well stored with Venison. Coming ashore at which Place, though we found not so many Deer as we indeed expected, yet seven we killed the same day, and four Bears to boot; which we also intended to eat.

But the Weather beginning now to overcast, and not likely to continue good for Hunting, we that Night returned again into *Green-harbour*: Where making us a Tent of our Sail and Oars (as is before described) we fell to eat such Meat as God had sent us, and betook ourselves to our rest upon it. Having rested ourselves awhile, and now finding the Weather to clear up, we broke off our sleep for that time, fitting ourselves and two dogs again to go a hunting: leaving *William Fakely* and *John Dawes* behind us in the tent at *Green-harbour*, as our cooks, for the time, to dress some Meat that we had, for our refreshment at our return.

Departing thus from the Tent, we rowed towards *Cole's Park*. In the way whither upon the side of a Hill, by the Sea side, we espyed seven Deer feeding: whereupon presently ashore we went, and with our dogs killed six of them; after which the Weather overcasting, we thought it to little purpose to go any further at that time: but resolved to hunt all along the side of that Hill, and so at Night return to our Tent. Going thus along, we killed six Deer more; which we had no sooner done, but it began to blow and rain, and to be very dark. Whereupon we hasted towards the Tent, there intending to refresh ourselves with Victuals, and with Rest, for that Night; and the next Day return again to our hunting. This purpose of ours was, by the foul Weather, next Day hindered: for it fell so black, so cold, and so windy, that we found it

no way fitting for our purpose. Lading therefore our own Shallop, with Bears and Venison, and another Shallop which we there found naled up, and left by the ship's company, as every year they used to do; Lading this other Shallop, I say, with greaves of the Whales that had been there boiled this present year (which we there found in heaps flung upon the ground) we dividing ourselves into two equal Companies; that is to say, *William Fakely* with one Seaman, and two Landmen with him, betaking themselves unto one Shallop, and *Edward Pellham* with another Seaman, and two Landmen more with him, going into the other Shallop; we all committed ourselves unto the Sea, intending with the next fair weather to go to *Bell Sownd* unto our Tent: which was the place we set up our rest upon, to remain there all the Winter.

Towards *Bell-Sownd*, therefore we went, with a purpose there to lay up our Store of what Victuals we had already gotten together; and with the next fair wind to come hither again, to try if it were possible for us there to provide ourselves of some more Venison, for our Winter provision.

Having thus laden both our Shallops, appointed our Company, and all ready now for our Departure; we were overtaken with the Night, and there forced to stay upon the place. The next day was *Sunday;* wherefore we thought fit to sanctifie the rest of it,

and to stay ourselves there till Monday, and to make the best use we could of that good day. Taking the best course we could for the serving of God Almighty, although we had not so much as a book amongst us, all the whole time that we stayed in that Country.

The Sabbath day being shut up by the approaching Night, we betook ourselves to rest; sleeping until the Sun awakened us by his beginning to shew himself, upon the Monday morning. The Day was no sooner peeped, but up we got, fitting ourselves and business for our departure. The Weather was fair and clear at the first; but after some four hours rowing, the Sky began so to overcast, and the Wind to blow so hard, that we could not possibly get to *Bell-Sownd* that Night, but cored half way until the next morning; at which time we recovered *Bottle-Cove:* to which place when we were once come, we found the Wind, then at South-west, to blow so hard, that it was impossible for us to reach *Bell-Sownd*, but were forced to stay at *Bottle Cove* for that Night. Our Shallops were made fast one to another; with a rope fastening the head of the one unto the stern of the other: and so casting our grabnel or anchor overboard, we left them riding in the Cove.

But see now what a mischance, for the Trial of our Patience, and for the making of us to rely more upon his Providence, than upon any outward

means of our own, God now suffered to befall us. We being now all ashore, the South-west blew so hard, and right into the Cove, that it made the Sea go high. Our Anchor also coming home at the same time, both our Shallops casting along the shoare, sunk presently in the Sea; wetting by this means our whole Provision. The Weather withal beating some of it out of the boats, which we found swimming up and down the shore: for coming out of our Tent in the mean time, judge you what a sight this was unto us, to see by mischance, the best part of our provision, the only hope of our lives, to be in danger utterly to be lost, or at least spoiled with the sea-water; for which we had taken such pains, and run such adventures in getting. In this our Misery we saw no way but one, and that a very desperate one; namely, to run presently into the high-wrought Sea, getting by that means into our Shallops, to save the remainder of our Provisions; ready now to be washed quite away by the Billows. A Halser thereupon we got, which fastening unto our Shallops, we with a Crabb or Capstang, by main force of hand, heaved them out of the water upon the Shore. This done, along the Sea side we go; seeking there, and taking up such of our provisions, as were swam away from our Shallops. Having by this means gleaned up all that could be gotten together; we resolved from thenceforth to let our Boats lie upon the shore, till

such time as the Weather should prove fair and better; and then to go over unto *Bell-Sownd.*

IV. The third of *September*, the Weather proving fair and good, we forthwith launched our Shallops into the water, and in them we got that day into *Bell-Sownd.* Thither as soon as we were come, our first business was, to take our provision out of our Shallops, into the Tent. Our next, to take a particular view of the Place, and of the great Tent especially, as being the place of our habitation for the ensuing Winter. This which we call The Tent, was a kind of House indeed, built of Timber and Boards very substantially, and covered with Flemish Tiles; by the men of which nation it had, in the time of their trading thither, been built: fourscore foot long it is, and in breadth fifty. The use of it was, for the Coopers employed for the Service of the Company, to work, lodge, and live in, all the while they make Casks for the putting up of the Train Oil. Our View being taken, we found the Weather beginning to alter so strangely, and the Nights and Frost, so to grow upon us; that we durst not venture upon another hunting Voyage unto *Green-harbour*, fearing the Sownd would be so frozen, that we should never be able to get back to our Tent again. By land it was, we knew, in vain for us to think of returning; for the land is so mountainous that there is no travelling that way.

Things being at this pass with us, we bethought ourselves of building another smaller Tent with all expedition: the place must of necessity be within the greater Tent. With our best wits, therefore, taking a view of the Place, we resolved upon the south side. Taking down another lesser Tent, therefore, built for the Land-men hard by the other; wherein, in time of year, they lay, whilst they made their Oil; from which we fetched our materials; that Tent furnished us with an hundred and fifty deal Boards, besides Posts or Stancheons and Rafters. From three Chimneys of the Furnaces, wherein they used to boil their Oils, we brought a thousand Bricks. There also found we, three hogsheads of very fine Lime, of which stuff we also fetched another hogshead from *Bottle Cove* on the other side of the Sownd, some three leagues distant. Mingling this Lime with the Sand of the Sea-shore, we made very excellent good Mortar for the laying of our Bricks: falling to work whereupon, the Weather was so extream cold, as that we were fain to make two fires to keep our Mortar from freezing. *William Fakely*, and myself, undertaking the Masonry, began to raise a Wall of one brick thickness, against the inner planks of the side of the Tent. Whilst we were laying of these Bricks, the rest of our Company were otherwise employed, every one of them; some in taking them down, others in making of them clean,

and bringing them in baskets into the Tent: Some in making Mortar, and hewing of Boards to build the other side withal; and two others, all the while, in flaying our Venison. And thus having built the two uttermost sides of the Tent with Bricks and Mortar, and our Bricks now almost spent, we were enforced to build the other two sides with Boards, and that in this manner: First, we nailed our deal Boards on one side of the Post or Stancheon, to the thickness of one foot, and on the other side in like manner; and so, filling up the hollow place between with Sand, it became so tight and warm, as not the least breath of air could possibly annoy us. Our Chimney's vent was into the greater Tent, being the breadth of one deal-Board, and four foot long. The length of this our Tent was twenty foot, and the breadth sixteen; the height ten; our ceiling being deal boards five or six times double, the middle of one joining so close to the shut of the other, that no Wind could possibly get between. As for our Door, besides our making it so close as possibly it could shut, we lined it moreover with a Bed that we found lying there, which came over both the opening and shutting of it. As for Windows we made none at all; so that our light we brought in through the greater Tent, by removing two or three tiles, in the Eaves; which light came to us through the vent of our Chimney.

Our next work was to set up four Cabins, billeting ourselves two and two in a Cabin. Our Beds were the Deer skins dried, which we found to be extraordinary warm, and a very comfortable kind of a lodging to us in our distress. Our next care then was for Firing to dress our Meat withal, and for keeping away the Cold. Examining therefore all the Shallops that had been left ashore there by the Ships, we found seven of them very crazy, and not serviceable for the next year: those we made bold withal, brake them up, and carried them into our house, stowing them over the beams in manner of a floor. Intending also to store the rest of our firing over them, so to make the outer Tent the warmer; and to keep the Snow from driving through the tiles into the Tent; which Snow would otherwise have covered every thing, and have hindered us from coming at what we wanted.

When the Weather was now grown cold, and the Days short, (or rather no day at all) we made bold to stave some empty Casks that were left the year before, to the quantity of one hundred tun at least; we also made use of some planks and of two old coolers wherein they cooled their Oil, and of whatsoever might be well spared without damnifying of the Voyage the next year. Thus having got together all the firing that we could possibly make, except we would make spoil of the Shallops and coolers that were there; which might easily have over-

thrown the next year's Voyage, to the great hinderance of the worshipful Company; whose Servants we being, were every way careful of their profit. Comparing therefore the small quantity of our Wood, together with the coldness of the Weather, and the length of time that there we were likely to abide; we cast about to husband our Stock as thriftily as we could, devising to try a new conclusion. Our Trial was this: when we raked up our Fire at Night, with a good quantity of ashes and of embers, we put into the midst of it a piece of Elm-wood; where after it had lain sixteen hours, we at our opening of it, found a great store of fire upon it; whereupon we made a common practice of it ever after. It never went out for eight Months together, or thereabouts.

Having thus provided both our House and firing; upon the 12th of September a small quantity of drift Ice came driving to and fro in the Sownd. Early in the morning therefore we arose, and looking every where abroad, we at last espied two Sea Horses lying asleep upon a piece of Ice: presently thereupon taking up an old harping-iron that there lay in the Tent, and fastening a grapnel rope unto it, out launched we our Boat to row towards them. Coming something near them, we perceived them to be fast asleep; which myself then steering the boat, first perceiving, spake to the rowers to hold still their oars, for fear of awaking them

with the crashing of the Ice; and I skulling the Boat easily along, came so near at length unto them, that the Shallop's end touched one of them. At which instant *William Fakely* being ready with his harping iron, heaved it so strongly into the old one, that he quite disturbed her of her rest: after which, she receiving five or six thrusts with our Lances, fell into a sounder sleep of death. Thus having dispatched the old one, the younger being loath to leave her dam, continued swimming so long about our boat, that with our lances we killed her also. Haling them both after this into the Boat, we row'd ashore, flay'd our Sea-horses, cut them in pieces to roast and eat them. The 19th of the same month, we saw other Sea-horses sleeping also in like manner upon several pieces of Ice. But the Weather being cold, they desired not to sleep so much as before; and therefore could we kill but one of them, of which we being right glad, we returned again into our Tent.

The Nights at this time, and the cold Weather, encreasing so fast upon us, that we were out of all hopes of getting any more food before the next Spring; our only hopes were to kill a Bear now and then, that might by chance wander that way. The next day, therefore, taking an exacter survey of all our Victuals, and finding our proportion too small by half, for our time and Company, we agreed among ourselves to come to Allowance: that

is, to stint ourselves to one reasonable Meal a day, and to keep *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* fasting days, excepting from the Frittars or * Greaves of the Whale, (a very loathsome Meat) of which we allowed ourselves sufficient to suffice our present hunger; and at this diet we continued some three months, or thereabouts.

Having by this time finish'd whatever we possibly could invent, for our Preservation in that desolate Desart, our Clothes and Shoos also were so worn and torn (all to pieces almost) that we must of necessity invent some new device for their reparations: of Rope Yarn therefore we made us Thread, and of Whalebones, needles to sow our Clothes withal. The Nights were waxing very long, and by the 10th of *October* the Cold so violent, that the Sea was frozen over; which had been enough to have daunted the most assured resolutions. At which time our business being over, and nothing now to exercise our minds upon, our heads began then to be troubled with a thousand sorts of Imaginations. Then had we leisure (more than enough) to complain ourselves of our present and most miserable Conditions. Then had we time to bewail our Wives and Children at home, and to imagine what news our unfortunate Miscarriages must needs be unto them. Then thought we of our Parents also, and

* The Scraps of the Fat of the Whale, which are flung away after the Oil has been extracted.

what a cutting corrosive it would be to them, to hear of the untimely deaths of their Children. Other whiles, again, we revived our selves with some comfort that our Friends might take, in hoping that it might please God to preserve us (even in this poor estate) until the next year. Sometimes did we vary our Griefs, complaining one while of the cruelty of our Master, that would offer to leave us to these Distresses; and then presently fell we, not only to excuse him, but to lament both him and his Company: fearing they had been overtaken by the Ice, and miserably that way perished.

Thus tormented in Mind with our Doubts, our Fears, and our Griefs, and in our Bodies with Hunger, Colds, and Wants; that hideous Monster *Desperation* began now to present his ugliest shape unto us. He now persuaded, he now laboured to seize upon us. Thus finding ourselves in a labyrinth as 'twere of a perpetual Misery, we thought it best not to give too much way unto our Griefs, fearing they also would most of all have wrought upon our weakness. Our Prayers we now redoubled unto the Almighty, for strength and patience in these our Miseries; and the Lord graciously listened unto us, and granted these our petitions; by his assistance therefore we shook off these thoughts, and cheered up ourselves again, to use the best means for our Preservation.

Now, therefore, began we to think upon our

Venison, and the preserving of that, and how to order our firing in cold Weather. For fear therefore our firing should fail us at the end of the year, we thought best to roast every day half a Deer, and to stow it in hogsheads. Which we putting now in practice, we forthwith filled three hogsheads, and an half, leaving so much raw, as would serve to roast every Sabbath day a quarter; and so for *Christmas-day*, and the like.

This Conclusion being made amongst us, fell we then again to bethink us of our Miseries, both past and to come; and how (though if it pleased GOD to give us life,) yet should we live as banished men, not only from our Friends but from all other Company. Then thought we of the pinching Cold, and of the pining Hunger; these were our Thoughts, this our Discourse, to pass the time withal: but as if all this Misery had been too little, we presently found another encrease of it; for examining our Provisions once more, we found that all our Frittars of the Whale were almost spoiled with the wet they had taken; after which, by lying so close together, they are now grown mouldy; and our Bear and Venison, we perceived again not to mount to such a quantity, as to allow us five meals a week. Whereupon we were fain to shorten our stomacks of one meal more: so that for the space of three months after that, we for four days in the week fed upon the unsavoury and mouldy Frittars, and

the other three we feasted it with Bear and Venison. But, as if it were not enough for us to want Meat, we now began to want light also: all our Meals proved Suppers now, for little light could we see, even the glorious Sun (as if unwilling to behold our Miseries) masking his lovely face from us, under the sable veil of coal black Night. Thus, from *the fourteenth of October 'till the third of February*, we never saw the Sun, nor did he all that time ever so much as peep above the horizon; but the Moon we saw at all times, day and night (when the clouds obscured her not) shining as bright as she doth in *England*. The Sky 'tis true is very much troubled with thick and black Weather all the winter time; so that then, we could not see the Moon, nor could discern what point of the Compass she bore upon us. A kind of day light we had indeed, which glimmered some eight hours a day unto us; in *October* time I mean: for from thence unto the first of *December*, even that light was shortened ten or twelve minutes a day constantly. So that from the first of *December*, 'till the twentieth, there appeared no light at all, but all was one continued Night. All that we could perceive was, that in a clear season, now and then there appeared a little glare of white, like some shew of Day, towards the South, but no light at all: and this continued 'till the first of *January*, by which time, we might perceive the Day a little to encrease. All this dark-

some time, no certainty could we have when it should be Day, or when Night; only myself, out of my own little judgement, kept the observation of it thus, first bearing in mind the number of the Epact: I made my addition by a Day supposed, (though not absolutely to be known by reason of the Darkness,) by which I judged of the age of the Moon; and this gave me my rule of the passing of the time. So that at the coming of the Ships into Port, I told them the very day of the Month, as directly as they themselves could tell me.

At the beginning of this darksome, irksome time, we sought of some means of preserving Light amongst us: finding, therefore, a piece of sheet Lead over a seam of one of the Coolers, that we ripped off, and made three lamps of it; which maintaining with Oil, we found in the Cooper's Tent, and rope-yarn serving us instead of Candle-wicks, we kept them continually burning; and this was a great comfort to us, in our extremity. Thus did we our best to preserve ourselves; but all this could not secure us: for we in our own thoughts accounted ourselves but dead men, and that our Tent was then our darksome Dungeon, and we did but wait our day of trial, by our judge, to know whether we should live or die. Our extremities being so many, made us sometimes in impatient speeches to break forth, against the Causes of our Miseries; but then again, our Consciences

telling us of our own evil deservings, we took it either for a Punishment upon us for our former wicked lives, or else for an Example of God's Mercy in our wonderful deliverance. Humbling therefore ourselves under the mighty hand of God, we cast down ourselves before him in Prayer two or three times a day: which course we constantly held all the time of our Misery.

The new Year now begun; *as the Days began to lengthen, so the Cold began to strengthen:* which Cold at last came to that extremity, as that it would raise Blisters in our flesh, as if we had been burnt with fire; and if we touched Iron at any time, it would stick to our fingers like birdlime. Sometimes, if we went but out a doors to fetch a little water, the Cold would nip us in such sort, that it made us as sore, as if we had been beaten in some cruel manner. All the first part of the Winter we found Water under the Ice, that lay upon the *Bache* on the Sea shore; which Water issued out of an high bay or cliff of Ice, and ran into the hollow of the *Bache*, there remaining with a thick Ice over it. Which Ice, we at one certain place daily digging through with pick-axes, took so much Water as served for our drinking.

This continued with us until the tenth of *January;* and then we were fain to make shift with Snow Water, which we melted, by putting hot irons into it,

and this was our Drink until the twentieth of *May* following.

By the last of *January*, were the days grown to some seven or eight hours long; and then we again took another view of our Victuals, which we now found to grow so short, that it could no way last us above six weeks longer; and this bred a further fear of Famine amongst us. But our recourse was, in this, as in other our extremities, unto Almighty God, who had Helps we knew, though we saw no Hopes: and thus spent our time till the 3d of *February*. This proved a marvellous cold Day, yet a fair and clear one. About the middle whereof, all clouds now quite dispersed, and Night's sable curtain drawn, *Aurora* with her golden face smiled once again upon us, at her rising out of her bed. For now the glorious Sun with his glittering beams, began to gild the highest tops of the lofty Mountains. The brightness of the Sun, and the whiteness of the Snow, both together was such, as that it was able to have revived a dying spirit: but to make a new addition to our new Joy, we might perceive two Bears, a she one and her cubb, now coming towards our Tent. Whereupon, we strait arming ourselves with our Lances, issued out of our Tent to await her coming. She soon cast her greedy eyes upon us, and with full hope of devouring us, she made the more haste unto us: but with our hearty lances, we gave her such a

welcome, as that she fell down upon the ground; tumbling up and down, and biting the very Snow for anger. Her Cubb seeing this, by flight escaped us. The Weather was now so cold, that longer we were not able to stay abroad: retiring therefore into our Tent, we first warmed ourselves, and then out again to draw the dead Bear in unto us. We flayed her, cut her into pieces of a stone weight, or thereabouts, which served us for our Dinners: And upon this Bear we fed some twenty days, for she was very good flesh, and better than our Venison. This only Mischance we had with her, that upon eating of her Liver, our very Skins peeled off: for my own part; I, being sick before, by eating of that Liver, though I lost my skin, yet recovered I my health upon it. She being spent, either we must seek some other Meat, or else fall aboard our roast Venison in the Cask, which we were very loth to do for fear of famishing; if so be that should be thus spent, before the Fleet came out of *England.* Amidst these our fears, it pleased God to send divers Bears into our Tent, some forty at least as we accounted, of which number we killed seven: that is to say, the second of *March* one, the fourth another, and the tenth, a wonderful great Bear six foot high at least; all which we flayed, and roasted upon wooden spits, having no better kitchen furniture than that, and a frying-pan, which we found in the Tent. They were as good savory Meat as

any beef could be. Having thus gotten good store of such Food, we kept not ourselves now on such streight allowance as before, but eat frequently two or three meals a day; which began to encrease strength and ability of body in us.

By this, the cheerful Days so fast increased, that the several sorts of Fowls, which had all the Winter-time avoided those quarters, began now again to resort thither, unto their Summer-abiding. The sixteenth of *March*, one of our two Mastiff dogs went out of the Tent from us in the morning: but from that day to this, he never more returned to us, nor could we ever hear what was become of him. The Fowls, that I before spake of, constantly use every Spring time to resort unto that Coast; being used to breed there most abundantly; their Food is a certain kind of small Fishes. Yearly, upon the abundant coming of these Fowls, the Foxes, which had all this Winter kept their burroughs, under the rocks, began now to come abroad to seek for their livings: for them we set up three Traps like rat-traps, and baited them with the skins of these Fowls, which we had found upon the Snow; they falling there in their flight from the hill, whereupon they bred, towards the Sea. For this Fowl being about the bigness of a Duck, hath her legs placed so close unto her rump, as that when they alight once upon the Land, they are very hardly, if ever, able to get up again, by reason of the

misplacing of their legs, and the weight of their bodies: but being in the water, they raise themselves with their pinions well enough. After we had made these Traps, and set them apart one from another, in the Snow; we caught fifty Foxes in them, all which we roasted, and found very good meat of them. Then took we a Bear's skin, and laying the fleshy side upward, we made Springs of whalebone, wherewith we caught about sixty of those Fowls, about the bigness of a Pigeon.

Thus continued we until the first of *May;* and the Weather then growing warm, we were now pretty able to go abroad to seek for more Provisions. Every day, therefore, abroad we went; but nothing could we encounter withal, until the 24th of *May:* when espying a Buck, we thought to have killed him with our dog, but he was grown so fat and lazy, that he could not pull down the Deer. Seeking further out, therefore, we found abundance of *Willock's Eggs* (which is a Fowl about the bigness of a Duck) of which Eggs, though there were great store, yet we being but two of us together, brought about thirty of them to the Tent that day, thinking the next day to fetch a thousand more of them: but the day proved so cold, with so much easterly Wind, that we could not stir out of our Tent.

Staying at home, therefore, upon the 25th of *May*, we for that day omitted our ordinary custom. Our order of late, since the fair Weather, was every

day, or every second day, to go up to the top of a Mountain, to spy if we could discern the water in the Sea. which until the day before we had not seen. At which time, a storm of Wind coming out of the Sea, brake the main Ice within the Sownd; after which, the Wind coming Easterly, carried all the Ice into the Sea, and cleared the Sownd a great way; although not near the Shore, at first, seeing the clear water came not near our Tent, by three miles at least.

IV. This 25th of May, therefore, we all day staying in the Tent, there came two Ships of *Hull* into the Sownd. Who knowing that there had been men left there the year before, the Master, full of desire to know whether we were alive or dead, manned out a Shallop from the Ship, with orders to row as far up the *Sound* as they could; and then to hale up their Shallop, and travel overland upon the Snow, unto the Tent. These Men, at their coming ashore, found the Shallop, which we had haled from our Tent into the water, with a purpose to go seek some Sea-horses the next fair weather; the Shallop being then already fitted with all neeessaries for that enterprize. This sight brought them into a quandary; and though this encounter made them hope, yet their admiration made them doubt, that it was not possible for us still to remain alive. Taking therefore our lances out of the Boat, toward the Tent they came. We never so much as perceiving them:

for we were all gathered together, now about to go to Prayers, in the inner Tent, only *Thomas Ayres* was not yet come into us out of the greater Tent. The *Hull* Men now coming near our Tent, haled it, with the usual word of the Sea, crying *Hey!* he answered again with *Ho!* Which sudden answer almost amazed them all, causing them to stand still, half afraid at the matter. But we, within, hearing of them, joyfully came out of the Tent, all black as we were with Smoak, and with our Cloaths all tattered with wearing. This uncouth Sight made them further amazed at us; but, perceiving us to be the very men left there all the year, with joyful hearts embracing, and we them again, they came with us into our Tent. Coming thus into us, we shewed them the Courtesie of the House, and gave them such Victuals as we had; which was Venison roasted four Months before, and a cup of cold Water; which, for novelty sake, they kindly accepted of us.

Then fell we to ask them, what News? and of the state of the land at Home, and when the *London* Fleet would come; to all which they returned us the best answers they could. Agreeing then to leave the Tent, with them we went to their Shallop, and so aboard the Ship, where we were welcomed after the heartiest and kindest *English* manner; and there we stayed ourselves, until the

coming of the *London* Fleet, which we much longed for; hoping by them to hear from our friends in *England*. We were told that they would be there next day, but it was full three days ere they came; which seemed to us as tedious a three days, as any we had yet endured: So much we desired to hear from our Friends, our Wives, and Children.

The 28th of *May*, the *London* Fleet came into the Port, to our great comfort. Aboard the *Admiral* we went, unto the Right Noble Captain, *Captain William Goodler*, who is worthy to be honoured by all Seamen, for his Courtesie and Bounty. This is the gentleman that's every year Chief Commander of this Fleet; and right worthy he is to be, being a very wise Man and an expert Mariner, as most be in *England*, none dispraised. Unto this gentleman right welcome we were, and joyfully by him received: he giving order, that we should have any thing that was in the Ship that might do us good, and, encrease our strength; of his own charges giving us Apparel also to the value of twenty pounds worth.

Thus, after fourteen Days of refreshment, we grew perfectly well all of us. Whereupon the noble Captain sent *William Fakely*, and *John Wise* (*Mason's* own apprentice,) and *Thomas Ayres* the whale-cutter, with *Robert Goodfellow*, unto

Master *Mason's* Ship, according as themselves desired. But thinking there to be as kindly welcomed, as the lost Prodigal, these poor men, after their enduring of so much misery, which through his means partly they had undergone; no sooner came aboard his Ship, but he most unkindly called them *Runaways*, with other harsh, and unchristian terms, far enough from the Civility of an honest man. Noble Captain *Goodler* understanding all these passages, was right sorry for them, resolving to send for them again; but that the Weather proved so bad, and uncertain. I, for mine own part, remained with the Captain still at *Bottle-Cove*, according to mine own desire. As for the rest of us, that stayed with him, he preferred the Land-men to row in the Shallops, for the killing of the *Whales*: freeing them, thereby, from their toilsome labour ashoare, bettering their means besides. And all these favours did this worthy gentleman for us.

Thus were we well contented now to stay there, till the 20th of *August*, hoping then to return into our Native Country. Which day of departure being come, and we embarked, with joyful hearts we set sail through the foaming Ocean; and though crossed sometimes with contrary Winds homeward bound, yet our proper Ships came at last safely to an Anchor in the river of *Thames*, to our great

joy and comfort, and the Merchants benefit. And thus, by the blessing of God, came we all eight of us well home safe and sound: where the Worshipful Company, our Masters, the *Muscovy* Merchants, have since dealt wonderfully well by us. For all which most merciful Preservation, and most wonderfully-powerful Deliverance, all Honour, Praise, and Glory, be unto the great God, the sole Author of it. He granting us to make a right use of it, AMEN.

CHAPTER V.

Captain Thomas James's strange and dangerous Voyage, in his intended Discovery of the N. W. Passage into the South Sea, in the Years 1631, and 1632. Wherein the Miseries endured, both going, Wintering, and returning, are related at large. Published by the special command of King Charles The First, in quarto, 1633; reprinted in * *Churchill's Collection*, 1732; and published in a third Edition, Octavo, in 1740, with the following Advertisement:

The universal good Character this Voyage has among the Judicious for its Integrity and Simplicity, and the great scarcity of it (having been sold for 15 Shillings, and a Guinea, in several Auctions) are sufficient motives for the reprinting of it: likewise we hope it will prove very useful and agreeable to the Publick.

Olive Payne.

* Vol. ii. Page 429. I have preferred this to the third Edition, which has lost much of the original quaintness of the Journal, and is not always correct. Captain *James*, previous to his Voyage, was presented to the King by *Sir Thomas Roe*, and had Letters given him for the Emperor of *Japan*.

THE PREPARATIONS TO THE VOYAGE.

HAVING been for many years importuned by my honourable and worshipful Friends, to undertake the discovery of that part of the world, which is commonly called the *North-West Pasage into the South-Sea*, and so proceed to *Japan*, and so round the world to the Westward; being prest forward withal, by signifying to me the earnest desire the King's Most Excellent Majesty had, to be satisfied therein: I acquainted my much honoured Friends, the Merchants of *Bristol*, therewith; who, as ever they have been benefactors and advancers of them that pursue the ways of honour (together with the enlargement and benefit of his Majesty's kingdoms,) did freely offer to be at the charge of furnishing forth Shipping for this purpose. And now being thus enabled, I addressed myself to the Honourable *Sir Thomas Roe*, Kt. (as to a learned and furthest employed Traveller by Sea and Land, this day in England) who joyfully presented theirs and mine own voluntary willingness, to do his Majesty Service in this kind; who most graciously accepted of the Offer, and encouraged me by many favours, in my weak undertakings. Wherefore, with all speed, I contrived in my mind, the best model I could, whereby I might effect my design. The Adventurers' moneys were instantly ready, and put into the

Treasurer's hands, that there might be no want of present pay, for any thing I thought necessary for the Voyage.

I was ever of the Opinion, that this particular action might be better effected by one Ship, than by two consorted: because in those Icy Seas, so much subject to Fogs, that they might easily be separated; I forbear to speak of Storms and other accidents; as that of a Rendezvous in discoveries, cannot surely, or without much hinderance, be appointed, and that speedy perseverance is the life of such a business: Wherefore I resolved to have but one Ship, the Ship-Boat, and a Shallop.

A great Ship (as by former experience I had found,) was unfit to be forced thorow Ice: wherefore I made choice of a well-conditioned strong Ship of the burthen of 70 Ton; and in God, and that only Ship, to put the hope of my future fortunes.

The Ship resolved upon; and that in less time than eighteen months our Voyage could not be effected; I next considered, how our Ship of seventy tons, in bulk and weight might now be proportioned, in victuals, namely, and other necessaries. This was all done as contractedly as we could; and the number of men it would serve, at ordinary allowance for the forementioned time, was found to be twenty two; a small number to perform such a business, yet double sufficient to sail the Ship with provident carefulness.

The Baker, Brewer, Butcher, and others, undertake their offices upon their credits, knowing it to be a general business, and their utter undoing if they failed in their performance: but truly they proved themselves Masters in their arts, and have my praise for their honest care; in them consisting a great part of the performance of the Voyage. The Carpenters go in hand with the Ship, to make her as strong and serviceable, as possibly in their understandings they could.

Every thing being duly proportioned, and my small number of men known, I began to think of the quality and ability they should be of. Voluntary loyterers I at first disclaimed, and published I would have all unmarried, approved, able, and healthy Seamen. In a few days an abundant number presented themselves, furnished with general sufficiency in Marine Occasions. I first made choice of a Boatswain, and some to work with him, for fitting the rigging of the Ship; and as things went forward, shipped the subordinate Crew. And all things being perfectly ready, I shipped the Master's Mates, and last of all, the Master of my Ship, and my Lieutenant. The whole Company were strangers to me, and to each other (as by way of familiarity,) but yet privately recommended by worthy Merchants, for their ability and faithfulness. I was sought to by divers that had been in places of the chiefest command in this action formerly, and

others also that had used the Northerly Icy Seas: but I utterly refused them all, and would by no means have any with me, that had been in the like Voyage or Adventures, for some private reasons unnecessary here to be related. Keeping thus the power in my own hands, I had all the men to acknowledge immediate dependance upon myself alone, both for the direction and disposing of all; as well of the navigation, as all other things whatsoever.

In the mean time, the better to strengthen my former Studies in this business, I seek after *Journals*, *Plots*, *Discourses*, or whatever else might help my understanding. I set skillful workmen to make me *Quadrants*, *Staves*, *Semicircles*, &c. as much, namely, as concerns the fabrick of them, not trusting to their mechanick hands to divide them, but had them divided by an ingenious practitioner in the Mathematicks. I likewise had Compass Needles made after the reasonablest and truest way that could be thought on: And by the first of *April*, every thing was ready to be put together into our hopeful Ship.

In the mean space I made a Journey up to London, to know his Majesty's further pleasure, and to make known to him my readiness. Who calling for the before mentioned honourable Knight, I speedily after received his Majesty's royal letters, with directions for proceeding in my Voyage, and

my discharge. Whereupon I had forth the Ship into the road, expecting a fair Wind to begin the Voyage.

CAPTAIN THOMAS JAMES'S STRANGE, AND DANGEROUS VOYAGE.

I. THE 2d of *May* 1631, I took my leave of the Worshipful Merchant Adventurers in this action, in the city of *Bristol;* and being accompanied with a reverend Divine, one *Mr. Thomas Palmer*, and divers of the Merchants, with others of my kindred and native Countrymen, I repaired on board. Here *Mr. Palmer* made a Sermon, exhorting us to continue brotherly love amongst us, and to be bold to profess the true Christian religion, wherever we should happen in this our peregrination. After they had received such entertainment as my estate could afford them, they departed for *Bristol.* This Afternoon I made a review of all things, as well of Clothes, and other necessaries, as of Victuals; and where there was found any want, we were presently furnished.

The 3d of *May*, after prayer for a prosperous success to our endeavours, about three o'clock in the afternoon, we came to sail, and stood down the channel of *Severne*, with little wind but slowly got forward to the westward of *Lundy;* and then

the Wind opposed itself so strongly against us, that we were driven to bear up and come to an anchor in *Lundy-road* the 5th in the evening, where we remained until the 8th in the morning. Now hoping the Wind would favour us, we came to sail, but we were forced to put into *Milford*, where we came to an anchor about midnight. Here we remained till the 17th in the morning; when, with the first favouring Wind, we proceeded and doubled Cape *Cleere* of *Ireland*.

The 22d, we were in the latitude 51° 26′ and the *Blaskes* did bear of us North east, aboat 12 leagues off; which *Blaskes* is in latitude 52° 4′. Here I ordered the Course that should be kept, which was generally West North West, as the Wind would give us leave; which in this course and distance, is very variable and unconstant.

The 4th of *June*, we made the land of GREENLAND, standing in with it to have knowledge of the trending of it. It proved very thick foul weather.

The 5th, by two o'clock in the morning, we found ourselves encompassed about with Ice; and endeavouring to clear ourselves of it, by reason we could not see far about us, we were the more engaged, and struck many fearful blows against it. At length we made fast to a great piece, it blowing a very Storm, and with poles wrought day and night to keep off the Ice; in which labour we broke all our poles.

The 6th, about two o'clock in the morning, we were beset with many extraordinary great pieces of Ice that came upon us, as it were, with wilful violence; and doubtless had crushed us to pieces, if we had not let fall some sail, which the Ship presently felt. In escaping that danger we ran against another great piece, that we doubted whether our Ship had not been staved to pieces; but pumping, we found she made no water. The former pieces of Ice had crushed our Shallop all to pieces; wherefore I caused our Long Boat speedily to be had up from betwixt the decks, and put overboard; by help whereof we again recovered our broken Shallop, and had her up on the decks, intending to new build her. All this day we did beat, and were beaten fearfully amongst the Ice, it blowing a very Storm. In the evening we were inclosed amongst great pieces, as high as our poop; and some of the sharp blue corners of them did reach quite under us. All these great pieces, by reason it was the outside of the Ice, did heave and set, and so beat us, that it was wonderful how the Ship could endure one blow of it: but it was God's only preservation of us, to whom be all honour and glory. In this extremity, I made the men let fall, and make what sail they could; and the Ship forced herself through it, though so tossed and beaten, as I think never Ship was. When we were clear, we sayed the Pumps, and found her stanch; upon

which we went instantly to prayer, and to praise God for his merciful delivery of us. The 7th and 8th days, we endeavoured to double about Cape *Farewell*, being still pestered with much Ice.

The 9th, we were in latitude 59° and we made account the Cape *Farewell* bare of us due East, and some ten leagues off. The Variation of the Compass, in lat. 52° 30′, and thirty leagues to the westward of *Ireland*, is about 3° to the Eastward; in lat. 57°, about 310 leagues West North-West from the *Blaskes*, the Compass doth vary 9° to the westward: In lat. 59° 15′, some forty leagues to the Eastward of Cape *Farewell*, the Variation is about 14° 45′. In this Course I have been observant, whether there were any Current that did set to the N. E. as some have written there did, and that as well in calm weather, as otherwise; but I could not perceive any.

The 10th, all the morning, was very foul Weather, and a high-grown Sea; although we had Ice not far off about us, and some pieces as high as our top-mast head. Our Long Boat, which we were fain to tow at stern, by reason we were building our Shallop on our decks, broke away, and put us to some trouble to recover her again. This we did, and made means to heave her into the Ship, though very much bruised; and that I had two men sore hurt, and like to be lost in the heaving of her

in. By eight of the clock this evening *, we were shot up as high as Cape *Desolation;* for finding here the Land to trend away North and by East, we certainly knew it to be the Cape. It stands in lat. 60°, and the Land from Cape *Farewell* to it, trends N. W. the distance about forty leagues. The lat. of the south end of the Island (of *Resolution)* being 61° 20′ some twelve leagues to the westward of Cape *Desolation*, the Variation is 16°. In this Course we were much tormented, pestered and beaten with the Ice, many pieces being higher than our Top-mast-head.

The 17th at night, we heard the rut of the Shore, as we thought; but it proved to be the rut against a bank of Ice, that lay on the Shore. It made a hollow and hideous noise, like an overfall of water, which made us to reason amongst ourselves concerning it: for we were not able to see about us, it being dark night and foggy. We stood off from it till break of day, then in again; and about four o'clock in the morning we saw the Land above the fog; which we knew to be the Island of *Resolution.* This last night was so cold, that all our rigging and sails were frozen. We endeavoured to compass about the southern point of the Island, for that we were so much pestered with the Ice,

* Rendered by the French translator, *Vers huit heures du Matin.*

and blinded with a very thick Fog. Here runs a quick Tide into the Straight, but the ebb is as strong as the flood: the Fog was of such a piercing nature, that it spoiled all our Compasses, and made them flag; and so heavy withal, that they would not traverse. Wherefore, I would advise any that shall sail this way hereafter, to provide Compasses of *Muscovy* glass, or some other matter, that will endure the moisture of the Weather. As the Fog cleared up, we could see the entrance of the Straight to be all full of Ice, close thronged together. Endeavouring to go forward, we were fast inclosed amongst it; and so drove to and again with it, finding no ground at 230 fathom, four leagues from the Shore.

The 20th in the Morning, we had got about the southern point of the Island; and the Wind came up at West, and drove both us, and the ice upon the Shore. When we were driven within two leagues of the Shore, we came amongst the most strange whirlings of the Sea that possibly can be conceived: there were divers great pieces of Ice aground in 40 fathom water, and the ebb coming out of the broken grounds of the Island, amongst these isles of Ice, made such a distraction, that we were carried round, sometimes close by the Rocks, sometimes close by those high Pieces, that we were afraid they would fall upon us. We were so beaten likewise with the encountring of the Ice, that we were

in a most desperate estate. We made fast two great pieces of ice to our sides, with our kedger and grapnels, that drew nine or ten fathom, that so they might be aground before us, if so be we were driven on the Shore: But that Design failed us; and now from the top, seeing in amongst the rocks, I sent the Boat (for now we had finished her) to see if she could find some place of security; but she was no sooner parted, but she was inclosed, and driven to hale up on the ice, or else she had been crushed to pieces. They ran her over the Ice from piece to piece; and in the mean space, with the whirling and encountering of the Ice, the two pieces brake away from our sides, and carried away our Kedger and Grapnels. Then we made signs to the Boat, to make all the haste she could to us, which she perceiving, did; the Men being with much difficulty inforced to hale her over many pieces of Ice. In the mean space we made some sail, and got to that piece of Ice that had our Grapnel on it, which we again recovered. By this time was our Boat come, and we put a fresh Crew into her, and sent her to fetch our Kedger, which she endeavoured, with much danger to Boat and men.

By this time the Ship was driven so near the Shore, that we could see the Rocks under us, and about us; and we should be carried with the whirlings of the waters, close by the points of Rocks, and then round about back again: And all this,

notwithstanding the sail we had abroad, that we expected continually when she would be beaten to pieces. In this extremity I made them to open more sail, and to force her in amongst the rocks and broken grounds, and where there was many great pieces of Ice a-ground. We went over Rocks, that had but twelve or thirteen foot water on them, and so let fall an anchor. This anchor had never been able to wind up the Ship, but that, by good fortune, the Ship ran against a great piece of Ice that was aground. This rush brake the main knee of her beak-head, and a corner of it tore away four of our main shrouds, and an anchor that we had at the bow, fastened into it; and so stopt her way, that she did wind up to her anchor. We saw the sharp Rocks under us, and about us, and had but fifteen foot water; being also in the sides way, where all the Ice would drive upon us. Our Boat we could not see, which made us doubt she had been crushed to pieces. In her was the third part of our Company; but by and by, we saw her come about a point amongst the Rocks. She had recovered our Kedger, which made us something joyful. With all speed we laid out Hawsers to the Rocks, and every one did work to the best of his strength, to warp her out of this dangerous place to the Rock's side; where we had three fathom water, and were under the shelter of a great piece of Ice that was aground: which should keep off the Ice, that otherwise would have

driven upon us. Here we lay very well all the ebb; but when the flood came, we were assaulted with pieces of Ice, that every half hour put us into despairable Distress. We did work continually and extreamly, to keep off the Ice. At full Sea our great piece of Ice, which was our buckler, was afloat; and, do what we could, got away from us, and left us in a most eminent danger, by reason of the Ice that drove in upon us. But the ebb being once made, this great piece of Ice came again aground very favourable to us, and sheltered us all the rest of the ebb. All Night we wrought hard to shift our Cables and Hawsers; and to make them fast aloft on the Rocks, that the Ice might the better pass under them. All Day and all Night it snowed hard, and blew a very Storm at West, which drove in all the Ice out of the Sea upon us. In working against the violence of the Ice, the flooke of our Kedger was broken, two arms of our Grapnels, and two Hawsers, our Shallop being again very much bruised: whereupon to work we go on all hands to repair it.

This tide the Harbour was choaked full of Ice, so that it did seem firm and unmoveable: but when the ebb was made, it did move. Some great pieces came aground, which did alter the course of the other Ice, and put us on the Rocks. Here, notwithstanding all our uttermost endeavours, she settled upon a sharp Rock, about a yard above the

mainmast; and as the water ebbed away, she hung after the head, and heeled to the offing. We made Cables and Hawsers aloft to her Masts, and so to the Rocks, straining them tough with our Tackles: but she, as the water ebbed away, sunk still; that at length she was so turned over, that we could not stand in her. Having now done all to the best of our understandings, but to little purpose, we went all upon a piece of Ice, and fell to Prayer, beseeching God to be merciful unto us. It wanted yet an hour to low water, and the tide did want a foot and a half to ebb, to what it had ebbed the last tide. We were careful observers of the low waters, and had marks by stones, and other things which we had set up, so that we could not be deceived. The Ship was so turned over, that the portless of the Forecastle was in the water; and we did look every minute when she would overset. Indeed at one time the Cables gave way, and she sunk down half a foot at that slip; but unexpectedly it began to flow, and sensibly we perceived the water to rise apace, and the Ship withal. Then was our Sorrow turned to Joy, and we all fell on our knees, praising God for his mercy, in so miraculous a Deliverance.

As soon as she was freed from this Rock, we wrought hard to get her further off. All the flood we were pretty quiet from the Ice, but when the ebb was made, the Ice came all driving again upon us, which put us to a great extremity. We got as

many pieces betwixt us and the Rocks as we could, to fence us from the Rocks. There came a great piece upon our quarter, which was above 300 of my paces about, but it came aground. Thus did divers great pieces besides, which was the occasion that this tide the Harbour was quite choakt up; so that a man might go any way over it from side to side. When it was three quarters ebb, these great Pieces that came aground, began to break with a most terrible thundering noise; which put us in a great fear, that those about us would break us all to pieces. But God preserved us.

The 22d, in the Morning, the water veered to a lower ebb, than the last tide had done by two foot, whereby we saw God's mercies apparent in our late extremity. That flood we had some respite from our labours; but after full Sea, our Hopes ebb too. The great piece that was by us, so stopt the channel, that the Ice came all driving upon us; so that now, undoubtedly, we thought we should have lost our Ship. To work thereupon we go with Axes, Bars of Iron, and any thing proper for such a purpose, to break the corners of the Ice, and to make way for it to drive away from us. It pleased God to give good success to our labours, and we made way for some and fended off the rest; and got so much of the softer sort of the Ice, betwixt us and the Rocks, that we were in pretty Security. But at low water, those pieces that were aground, breaking, kept a

most thundering noise about us. This day I went ashore, and built a great Beacon with stones, upon the highest place of the Island, and put a Cross upon it; and named this Harbour, *The Harbour of God's Providence.* In the Evening, the Harbour was fuller of the Ice than ever it had been since we came hither; and the greater Pieces grounded and stopt the rest, that none went out the ebb; but the Ship lay as if she had lain in a bed of ice.

The 23d, in the Morning, I took the Boat and went ashore upon the Eastern side, to see if I could find any place freer from Danger than this unfortunate place; where amongst the Rocks I descried a likely Place. From the top of the hill where I was, I could see the Ship. It was now almost low water; at which instant, an extraordinary piece of Ice brake with a terrible noise into four pieces, which made me doubtful if it had not spoiled the Ship, it being full half mast high. I made what haste I could to the Boat, and so to the Ship, to be satisfied; where I found all well, God be thanked, for that the Ice had broken from the ship-ward. I instantly sent away the Boat, to sound the way to a Cove that I had found; which was a very dangerous passage for the Boat. At her return we unmoored the Ship, and with what speed possible warpt away from amongst this terrible Ice: we were not a mile from them, but they brake all to pieces; and would surely have made us bear them

company, but that God was more merciful unto us. We got about the Rocks, and so into this little Cove which I had so newly discovered. Here we made fast to the Rocks, and thought ourselves in indifferent safety: which being done, I went ashore again, to wander up and down, to see what I could discover. I found it all broken rocky grounds, and not so much as a Tree, Herb, or Grass upon it. Some ponds of water there were in it, which were not yet thawed, and therefore not ready for the Fowl. We found not in the Snow any footing of Deer, or Bears, but Foxes we saw one or two.

We found where the Salvages had been, but it was long since. . . I could not conceive to what purpose they should come thither; for we could find none, or very little Wood on the shore side, and no Fish at all; though we did daily endeavour to take some. But it may be the Season was not yet come. I named this Cove by the Master's name of my Ship, *Price's Cove*. The latitude of it is 61° 24′ the variation. From the top of the Hills, we could see the Islands that are on the South shore, and commonly called *Sir Thomas Button's Isles*. They did bear South and by East, half a point Easterly. . . And this Morning, being the 24th, there sprung up a fair Gale of wind at East; and after Prayer we unfastened our Ship, and came to sail, steering betwixt great pieces of Ice, that were aground in 40 fathom, and twice as high as our Top mast head. We went

forth of this Cove, upon the flood, and had none of those Whirlings of the waters, as we had at our going into it. We endeavoured to gain the North shore, and kept ourselves within a league of the shore of the Island of *Resolution*, where we had some clear water to sail thorough. In the offing, it was all thick thronged together, as might be possible. By twelve a clock we were fast inclosed, and notwithstanding it blew very hard at East, yet we could make no way through it; but the hard corners of the Ice did grate us with that violence, as I verily thought it would have grated the Planks from the Ship's sides. Thus we continued in torment till the 26th day, driving to and again in the Ice, not being able to see an acre of Sea from the top-mast head. The 26th was calm sun-shine weather, and we had ground at 140 fathom, small white sand. I caused the men to lay out some fishing lines, but to no purpose; for I could not perceive that the bait had been so much as touched. The Nights are very cold, so that our Rigging freezes, and the fresh ponds of water stand upon the Ice above half an inch thick. The 29th I resolved, that here is no Current, and that by many Experiments which I made: from the 29th to the 5th of *July*, we sailed continually thorough the Ice, with variable Winds and Fogs, and sometimes calm. At Noon we had a good Observation, and were in

latitude 63° 15′ and to the N. N. W. and indeed round about us, the Sea most infinitely pestered with Ice. This did grieve me very much; for whereas I determined to prosecute the Discovery to the North-west-ward, I saw it was not possible this year.

II. But before I proceed farther, it were not amiss in some manner to describe the Streight, which begins at the Island of *Resolution*, and ends here at *Digges's Island*. If you go down into the Bay, the Streight is about 120 leagues long; and trends W. N. W. and E. S. E. generally. In the Entrance it is about fifteen leagues broad, and then on the southward side is a great Bay. About the middest it is likewise about fifteen leagues broad, and then the Land opens something wider; so that betwixt *Digges's Island* and *Cape Charles*, it is about 20 leagues broad: Betwixt which two stands *Salisbury Island* and *Nottingham Island*. If it be clear Weather, you may see both the South and the North Shores: ordinarily, the depth in the middle of the Streight is 120 fathoms, white Sand; a certain Tide runs in it, and no Current. The North Shore is the straitest, and the clearest from Ice too. Along the North Shore you have many low small Islands, which cannot be seen far off from the Land; and in many places, the Land makes as if it had small Sounds in it. The main Land on both sides

is indifferent high Land. And so much for Discourse may suffice, referring you to the Plot for particulars.

The 16th, being now resolved of the impossibility to do any thing to the North-westward, for the reasons aforesaid, I gave order to the Master of my Ship, to steer away W. S. W. to have a sight of *Mansfield's Island;* which the next day by 3 a clock in the afternoon we had: having had so much dangerous foul Weather amongst the Ice, that we struck more fearful blows against it, than we had ever yet done. This was the first day that we went to half allowance of Bread flesh days, and I ordered things as sparingly as I could. Two of our men complained likewise of Sickness, but soon afterward recovered. In the Evening we came to an anchor, and I sent the boat ashore to try the tides. They brought me word, that whilst the Boat was ashore, it flowed about some three foot; and as we found by the Ship, and by the Ice, the water at that time came from the W. S. W. and that at the highest tides (so far as they could perceive,) it had not highed above two fathom. They found that the Salvages had been upon it, by certain fires which they found, and heaps of stones: tracks of other beasts, but Foxes they could not find. The Wind was so contrary, and the Weather so foggy, that we were fain to spend some powder to recover our boat again. . .

The 18th, in the Morning, the Wind came some-

thing favorable, and we weighed and came to sail; for the Ice was all come about us. We endeavoured to proceed to the Westward, intending to fall with the Western-land about the latitude 63°. By ten at Night we heard the rut of the Ice, and it grew a thick Fog, and very dark with it: nevertheless, we proceeded, and the nearer we came to it, the more hideous noise it made.....

The 27th, was the first time we had clear Weather to look about us: the Wind withal came up at South, and the Ice did open something, so that we made some way thorough it to the West-ward. In the Evening we were fast again, and could go no farther; the Wind veering from the South to the East, and blowing a fresh gale. This occasioned our griefs the more, that with a good Wind we could not go forward; putting therefore a Hawser upon a piece of great Ice, to keep the Ship close to it, we patiently expected for better fortune...

The 28th and 29th, we were so fast inclosed in the Ice, that notwithstanding we put abroad all the sail that was at our Yards, and that it blew a very hard Gale of Wind, the Ship stirred no more than if she had been in a dry Dock. Hereupon we went all boldly out upon the Ice, to sport and recreate ourselves, letting her stand still, under all her sails. It was flat, extraordinary large Ice, the worst to deal withal that we had yet found: I measured some Pieces, which I found to be 1000 of my paces

long. This was the first Day that our men began to murmur, thinking it impossible to get either forwards or backwards. Some were of opinion, that it was all such Ice betwixt us and the Shore. Others, that the Bay was all covered over; and that it was a doubt whether we could get any way, or to any Land to winter in. The Nights were long, and every Night it did so freeze, that we could not sail amongst the Ice by Night, nor in thick foggy Weather. I comforted and encouraged them the best I could; and to put away these Cogitations, we drank a health to his Majesty on the Ice: not one man in the Ship, and she still under all her Sails. I most ingenuously confess, that all their murmuring was not without reason: wherefore doubting that we should be frozen up in the Sea, I ordered that Fire should be made but once a day.

The 30th, we made some way through the Ice: we heaving the Ship with our Shoulders, and with Mawls and Croes of Iron breaking the corners of the Ice, to make way. . . The 31st, we laboured as aforesaid, and got something forward. . . The 6th of *August*, in the Morning, the Wind came up at N. W. and we weighed with much joy, as hoping now to get into an open Sea to the Southward. This by Noon we had done, and were in Lat. 58° 28′ very free of Ice. The Wind did large upon us, so that we stood away N. W. to get up as high to the Northward as we could, and so to

come Coasting to the Southward. We went to Prayer, and to give God thanks for our delivery out of the Ice. . . The eleventh in the Morning we weighed and made in for the Shore, and about Noon saw the Land in Lat. 59° 40′.

Two or three Words now concerning the Bay that we have passed over. It is from *Digge's Island* to the Western Land, in Latitude aforesaid, about 160 Leagues. The Tides do set in the middle of the Bay, East and West, as we have often tryed by our Lead aground. But nearer the Shores, as they are forced by the Land, I am of the Opinion, that in the Ocean, or in large Bays, the Tides do naturally set E. and W. and that this doth give little hope of a Passage. The greatest depth we had in the Bay was 110 fathom, and so shoaling as you approach to Land, we coasted round about this forementioned little Bay, which is some 18 leagues deep, in eight and six fathoms. . .

The 13th, in the Afternoon, it being something hazy, we saw some Breaches a head of us; our Depth was 9 and 10 fathom; and luffing to clear ourselves of them, we suddenly struck upon the Rocks; the Ship being under our two topsails, foresail, and spritsail, with a fresh Gale of Wind. In this fearful Accident, we struck all our Sails amain; and it did please God to send two or three good swelling Seas, which did heave us over the Rocks into three fathom, and presently into three fathom and a half, where we chopt to an anchor, and assayed the Pumps:

but we found she made no water, although she had three such terrible blows, that we thought her Mast would have shivered to pieces, and that she had been assuredly bulged. We hoisted the Boat overboard, and doubly manned her, to go seek and sound a Way out of this perilous Place. She was no sooner gone, but there rose a Fog; so that we were fain to spend some Powder, that she might hear whereabouts we were. The Wind dulled somethin g, otherwise it had been doubtful whether she could ever have recovered to us again. After she had been absent about two hours, she brought us word, that it was all Rocks and Breaches round about us; and that withal, she had found a Way, where there was not less than two fathom and a half, and that afterwards the water did deepen. We did presently weigh, and follow the Boat, and past over two ledges of Rocks, on which there was scarce fourteen foot water: Then did it deepen to three, four, and so to fourteen fathom; then it shoaled again to nine.

It being now Night, we came to an anchor; where we rid indifferently well all the Night. In the Morning the Wind came contrary, so that we could not go that way we intended to clear ourselves; and therefore we went to work, to fit our Holds, to splice our Cables, and make ready two Shot, and so placed them in the Hold, that they might upon all occasions run clear; the ends of

them being fastened to the Main-mast. We likewise looked to our Anchors, and fitted our spare ones. We got out our long Boat from betwixt the decks, which was very much broken and bruised. The Carpenter went to work to fit her, for I intended to tow the Shallop at stern, and so to have the Boats ready at an instant, either to lay out our Anchors, or be serviceable to what God should be pleased to try our Faith and Patience withal; for in Him was our only trust, and our hope upon His favour in our honest endeavours. . . .

The 17th, in the Morning we stood South, and our depth decreased by degrees to eight fathoms. At Noon we had good observation, being in Lat. 57° 15′, and we make account, that we are some six or seven leagues off the southern side of Port *Nelson*. . . The 20th, at six in the Morning, we saw the Land, it being a very low flat Land. We stood into five fathoms, to make it the better, and so stood along it. At Noon we were in Lat. 57°. We named it *The New Principality of South Wales*, and drank a health in the best liquor we had to Prince CHARLES his Highness, whom God preserve. We stood along it, and came to a Point where it trends to the Southward; near to which Point there are two small Islands. In the Evening it was calm, and we came to an anchor. The Tide set as aforesaid. There we rid all that Night, and the next day, by reason the Wind was contrary. There went a chopping

short Sea; and the Ship did labour at it exceedingly leaping in Spreetsail-yard, Forecastle, and all: for as yet we had not trimmed her well, to ride. About nine at Night it was very dark, and it did blow hard. We did perceive by the lead the Ship did drive; wherefore bringing the Cable to Capstan, to heave in our Cable, for we did think we had lost our Anchor; the Anchor hitched again, and upon the chopping of a Sea, threw the men from the Capstan. A small rope in the dark had gotten foul about the Cable, and about the Master's leg too; but with the help of God he did clear himself, though not without sore bruising. The two Mates were hurt; the one in the head, the other in the arm. One of our lustiest men was stricken on the breast with a Bar, that he lay sprawling for life; another had his head betwixt the Cable, and hardly escaped. The rest were flung where they were sore bruised; but our Gunner, an honest and diligent man, had his leg taken betwixt the Cable and the Capstan, which wrung off his foot, and tore all the flesh off his leg, crushed the bone to pieces, and sorely withal bruised his whole body: in which miserable manner, he remained crying, till we had recovered ourselves, our memory, and strengths to clear him. Whilst we were putting him and the rest down to the Chirurgeon, the Ship drove into shoally water, which put us all in fear: we being so sorely weakened by this

blow, which had hurt eight of our men. It pleased God, that the Anchor held again, and she rid it out all Night. By Midnight the Chirurgeon had taken off the Gunner's leg at the gartering place, and dressed the others that were hurt and bruised: after which we comforted each other as well as we could.

The 22d, we weighed, and stood a little off into deeper water, expecting a better Wind; which in the Afternoon favoured us. We stood in again for the Shore, and along it we proceeded. The 26th there sprung up a fine Gale at West, but very thick Weather; nevertheless we stood into seven and six fathom, the water very thick and puddleish. At Noon it cleared: and we could see we were embayed in a little Bay, the Land being almost round about us. We stood out of it, and so along it in sight, till the 27th in the Morning; when we came to higher Land than any we had yet seen, since we came from *Nottingham Island*. We stood into it, and came to an Anchor in five fathom. I sent off the Boat, well manned and armed, with order in writing what they were to do; and a charge to return again before Sunset. The Evening came, and no news of our Boat; we shot, and made false fires, but had no answer, which did much perplex us; doubting that there had been some Disaster befaln her, through carelessness: and in her we should lose all. We aboard, at present, were not able to

weigh our Anchor, nor sail the Ship. At last we saw a fire upon the Shore, which made us the more doubtful, because they did not answer our shot, nor false fires with the like. We thought withal, that it had been the Salvages, who did now triumph in their conquest. At length they came, all safe and well; and excused themselves, in that upon their coming ashore, it did ebb so suddenly, that a bank of sand was so presently dry without them, as they could not come away, till that was covered again; and with that they pacified me. They reported, that there was great store of drift-Wood on the Shore; and a good quantity growing on the Land. That they saw the tracks of Deer and Bears, good store of Fowl, of which they had killed some, but no sign of People. That they passed over two little Rivers, and came to a third, which they could not pass.

The 29th, in the Morning, as it cleared, we saw a Ship to Leeward of us, some three or four leagues; so we made sail, and bore up with her. She was then at an anchor in 13 fathom. It was his Majesty's Ship, and Captain Fox commanded in her.

I saluted him according to the manner of the Sea: and received the like of him. So I stood in to see the Land, and thought to tack about, and keep weather of him, and to send my boat on board of him: but the Wind shifted, so that for that time

I could not. In the evening I came to weather of him, and sent my Boat on board of him; who presently weighed, and stood off with me till Midnight, and then we stood in again.

In the Morning, Captain Fox and his Friends came on board me; where I entertained them in the best manner I could, and with such fresh meat as I had gotten from the Shore. In the Evening, after I had given his men some necessaries, with Tobacco and other things which they wanted, he departed on board his Ship; and the next Morning stood away S. S. W. Since which time I never saw him. The Wind something favouring me, I stood in for the Shore, and so proceeded along it in sight.

This month of *August*, ended with Snow and Hail; the Weather being as cold as at any time I have felt in England. The first of * *September* we coasted along the Shore, in ten fathoms, and, when it cleared, in sight of Land. By Night we had much ado to get safely out of this dangerous Bay. This day was the first time the Chirurgeon told me, that there were divers of the men tainted with Sickness. The 3d in the Morning, we stood in again, and found the Land to trend S. S. E. and S. so that we knew we were at a Cape land, and named it *Cape* † *Henrietta Maria*, by her Majes-

* In the French Translation, *Le premier de Septembre*, Fox *et son equipage côtoyèrent le rivage.*

† Fox styled it, *Wolstenholme's Ultimum Vale.*

ty's name, who had before named our Ship. At Noon we were in Latitude 55° 5′, and that is the height of the Cape. From Port *Nelson* to this Cape, the Land trends, generally, E. S. E. but makes with Points and Bays; which in the particulars doth alter it a point, two or three. The distance is about 130 Leagues. The Variation at this Cape, taken by an amplitude, is about 16°, a most shoald and perilous Coast, in which there is not one Harbour to be found.

The 4th, in the Morning we stood in again S. W. The Weather was very thick, and we sounded continually; but by Noon it cleared, and we saw the Land. In the Evening there came a great rolling Sea out of the N. N. E., and by eight a clock it blew very hard at S. E., and by reason of the encounter of the Wind, and this great Sea, the Sea was all in a breach: and to make up a perfect Tempest, it did so lighten, snow, rain and blow all the Night long, that I was never in the like. We shipt many Seas, but one most dangerous which racked us fore and aft, that I verily thought it had sunk the Ship, it strook her with such a violence. The Ship did labour most terribly in this distraction of Winds and Waves, and we had much ado to keep all things fast in the Hold and betwixt decks.

The 5th, in the Morning, the Wind shifted to S. W. but changed not his condition, but continued in his old Anger and Fury. In the Afternoon it shifted again to the N. W. and there showed his uttermost

Malice; and in that tearing Violence, that nor I, nor any that were then with me, ever saw the Sea in such a breach. Our Ship was so tormented and did so labour, with taking it in on both sides, and at both ends, that we were in a most miserable Distress in this so unknown Place. At eight a clock in the Evening the Storm broke up, and we had some quietness in the Night following; not one having slept one wink in 30 hours before. If this Storm had continued easterly, as it was at first, without God's goodness we had all perished. . .

The 7th, in the Morning, the Wind came up at S. E. and we stood away S. W. under all the Sail we could make. In this Course we saw an Island, and came close aboard it; and had 20 fathom water, which was some comfort to us. This Island stands in latitude 54° 10′. The 8th we stood to the Eastward, keeping our Lead going continually. In the Evening the water shoaled to ten and nine fathom, wherefore we stood off and on, all Night. The 10th we made it, finding it an Island of about eight or nine leagues long. It stands in latitude 53° 5′, and about 15 leagues from the Western shore. The part of it that we coasted, trends W. N. W. I named it my *Lord Weston's Island*. We stood still away to the Eastward, it being broken foggy Weather. In the afternoon, we descried Land to the eastward of us, which made like three Hills or Hummocks: Towards them we sail, keep-

ing our Lead still going, and very circumspect. At length we also saw Land to the Southward of us; whereupon we loof up, and now made for that, by course, as we had set it in the thick dark Fog. We came in amongst such low broken Grounds, Breaches, and Rocks, that we knew not which way to turn us; but, God be thanked, it was but little Wind, and so we came to an anchor. . .

The 11th, in the Morning, I went in the Boat ashore myself, and whilst I was a land, I sent the Boat amongst the broken grounds to sound. I found this Island utterly barren of all goodness; yea of that, which I thought easily to have found, which was Scurvy Grass, Sorrel, or some Herb or other to have refreshed our sick People. Thus I returned aboard; and sent many of our sick men, to another part of the Island, to see if they themselves could fortunately find any relief for their Griefs. At Noon, by good Observation, we were in latitude 52° 45′. In the Evening our men returned comfortless; and then we weighed, and stood to the Westward, coming to anchor under another Island, in 20 fathoms.

The 12th, in the Morning, it began to blow hard at S. E. which was partly off the Shore, and the Ship began to drive, it being soft oozy ground. We heaved in our anchor thereupon, and came to sail under two courses.—Whilst the most were busy in heaving out of Top-sails, some, that should have

had special care of the Ship, ran her ashore upon the Rocks, out of meer carelessness; in looking out and about, or heaving of the lead after they had seen the Land all night long, and might even then have seen it, if they had not been blinded with Self Conceit, and been enviously opposite in opinions. The first Blow struct me out of a deep sleep; and I running out of my Cabin, thought no other at first, but I had been wakened, when I saw our danger, to provide myself for another World.

After I had controuled a little Passion in myself, and had checkt some bad counsel that was given me, to revenge myself upon those who had committed this error; I ordered what should be done to get off these Rocks, and Stones. First, we hailed all our Sails a *back-slays;* but that did no good, but make her beat the harder: Whereupon we struck all our Sails amain; and furled them up close, tearing down our Stern to bring the Cable through the Cabin to the Capstan; and so laid out an Anchor to heave her astern. I made all the Water in Hold to be staved, and set some to the pumps to pump it out, and did intend to do the like with our Beer. Others I put to throw out all our Coals, which was soon and readily done. We quoiled out our Cables into our long Boat; all this while the Ship beating so fearfully, that we saw some of the Sheathing swim by us. Then stood we, as many as we could, to the Capstan; and heaved

with such a good will, that the Cable brake, and we lost our Anchor. Out with all speed therefore we put another. We could not now perceive whether she did leak or no; and that, by reason we were imployed in pumping out the water, which we had bulged in the Hold, though we much doubted, that she had received her death's wound. Wherefore we put into the Boat the Carpenter's tools, a barrel of Bread, a barrel of Powder, six Muskets, with some Match, and a Tinder-box, Fish-hooks, and Lines, Pitch and Oakum; and, to be brief, whatever could be thought on in such an extremity. All this we sent ashore, to prolong a miserable Life for a few days. We were five hours thus beating, in which time she struck 100 blows; insomuch that we thought every stroke had been the last, that it was possible she could have endured. The water we could not perceive in all this time to flow any thing at all. At length it pleased God, she beat over all the Rocks, though yet we knew not whether she were stanch. Whereupon to pumping we go on all hands, till we made the Pumps suck; and then we saw how much water she did make in a glass. We found her to be very leaky; but we went to Prayer, and gave God thanks it was no worse; and so fitted all things again, and got farther off, and came to an anchor. In the Evening it began to blow very hard at W. S. W. which if it had

done whilst we were on the Rocks, we had lost our Ship without any redemption.

III. The 13th at noon, we weighed and stood to the Westward; but in that Course it was all broken Grounds, Shoals and sunken Rocks; so that we wondered with ourselves, how we came in amongst them in a thick fog. Then we shaped our Course to the Northward, and after some consultation with my Associates, I resolved to get about this Land, and so to go down into the bottom of *Hudson's Bay*, and see if I could discover a way into the River of *Canada:* and, if I failed of that, then to winter on the main Land, where there is more comfort to be expected, than among Rocks or Islands.

We stood along the Shore, in sight of many breaches: When it was Night we stood under our Fore Sail, the Lead still going. At last the Water shoaled upon us to ten fathom, and it began to blow hard. Suddenly it shoaled to six and five fathom, so we struck our Sail amain, and chopt to an Anchor, resolving to ride it out for Life and Death. We rid all Night a great stress, so that our Bits did rise, and we thought they would be torn to pieces.

At break of day, the 14th, we were joyful men; and, when we could look about, we descried an Island some two leagues off, at W. by N. and this

was the Shoal that lay about it. In the Evening it began to blow a Storm not sail-worthy, and the Sea went very high, and was all in a breach. Our Shallop, which we did now tow at steru, being moored with two hawsers, was sunk, and did spin by her Moorings, with her keel up, twenty times in an hour. This made our Ship to hull very broad, so that the Sea did continually over-rake us; yet we endured it and thought to recover her. All Night the Storm continued with violence, and with some rain in the Morning; it then being very thick Weather. The water shoalded apace, with such an overgrown Sea withal, that her sail was not to be endured; and what was as ill, there was no trusting to an Anchor.

Now, therefore, began we to prepare ourselves, how to make a good end of a miserable tormented Life. About Noon, as it cleared up, we saw two Islands under our lee; whereupon we bare up to them; and seeing an opening betwixt them, we endeavoured to get into it before Night, for that there was no hope of us, if we continued out at Sea that Night: therefore come Life, come Death, we must run this hazard. We found it to be a good Sound, where we rid all Night safely; and recovered our strengths again, which were much impaired with continual labour. But before we could get into this good place, our Shallop broke away, being moored with two hawsers, and we lost her to our

great Grief. Thus now had we but the Ship Boat, and she was all torn and bruised too. This Island was the same that we had formerly coasted the western side of, and had named my *Lord Weston's Island.*

The 19th, by Noon, we came to an anchor under another Island, on which I went ashore, and named it, *The Earl of Bristol's Island.* The Carpenter wrought hard in repairing our Boat, whilst I wandered up and down on this desolate Island. I could not perceive that ever there had been any Salvages on it; and in brief, we could find neither Fish, Fowl, nor Herb upon it, so that I returned comfortless on board again. Here seeing the Winds continue so northerly, that we could not get about to go into *Hudson's Bay*, we considered again what was best to do, to look out for a Wintering Place. Some advised me to go to *Port Nelson;* because we were certain, that there was a Cove, where we might bring in our Ship. I liked not that Counsel, for that it is a most perilous place, and that it might be so long ere we could get thither, that we might be debarred by the ice. Moreover, seeing it was so cold here, as that every Night our Rigging did freeze; and that sometimes in the Morning, we did shovel away the Snow half a foot thick off our Decks, and in that latitude too, I thought it far worse than the other place. I resolved thereupon, to stand again to the Southward, there to look for

some little creek or cove for our Ship. The 21st, the Wind came up at N. and we weighed, although it was a very thick Fog, and stood away S. W. to clear ourselves of the Shoals that were on the point of this Island. This Island is in lat. 53° 10′. When we were clear we steered away S. At Noon the Fog turned into Rain, but very thick Weather, and it did thunder all the Afternoon, which made us doubt a Storm: for all which we adventured to proceed. In the Evening the Wind increased, and blew hard; wherefore we took in all our Sails, and let her drive to the Southward, heaving the Lead every Glass. Our depth, when we took in our Sails, was thirty fathom, and it did increase to forty-five, which was a great comfort to us in the Dark. At Midnight, our depth began suddenly to decrease, and as fast as the Lead could be heaved, it shoalded to twenty fathom; whereupon we chopt to an Anchor, and trimmed our Ship aft, to mount on the Sea, and fitted all things to ride it out. 'There was no need to bid our Men watch; not one of them putting his eyes together all the Night long.'

The 22d in the Morning, when we could look about us, we saw an Island under our lee some leagues off; all being Shoals and Breaches, betwixt us and it. At Noon, with the help of the windward tide, we attempted to heave up our anchor, although the Sea still went very lofty. Joining all

our strengths, therefore, with our best skills, God be thanked we had it up: but before we could set our Sails we were driven into nine fathom. Endeavouring, thereupon, to double a Point, to get under the lee of this Island, the water shoalded to seven, six, and five fathom; but, when we were about, it did deepen again, and we came to an anchor in a very good place; and it was very good for us that we did, for the Wind increased to a very Storm. Here we did well all the Night. The last Night, and this Morning, it did snow and hail, and was very cold: Nevertheless, I took the Boat and went ashore, to look for some Creek or Cove to have in our Ship; for she was very leaky, and the Company became sickly and weak, with much Pumping and extreme Labour.

This Island, when we came to the Shore, was nothing but ledges of Rocks, and Banks of Sand, and there went a very great Surf on them. Nevertheless, I made them row through it; and ashore I got with two more, and made them row off without the breaches, and there come to an anchor and stay for me. I made what speed I could to the top of a Hill, to discover about, but could not see what we looked for. Thus, because it began to blow hard, I made haste towards the Boat again. I found that it had ebbed so low, that the Boat could not by any means come near the Shore for me; so that we were fain to wade through the

surf and breaches to her: in which some took such a Cold, that they did complain of it to their dying day. But now it began to blow hard, so that we could not get but little to windward toward our Ship, for the Wind was shifted since we went ashore; and return to the Shore we could not, by reason of the Surf. Well! we row for life. They in the Ship let out a Buoy by a long Warp, and by God's assistance we got to it, and so haled up to the Ship; where we were well welcomed, and we all rejoyced together. I named this Island *Sir Thomas Roe's Island:* It is full of small Wood, but in other benefits not very rich; and stands in lat. 52° 10′. At Noon we weighed, seeing an Island that bare S. S. E. of us, some four leagues off; which was the highest Land we had seen in this Bay.

The 25th, we thought to get to the eastward; but as we tacked to and again, the Wind shifted in our teeths, that it put us within a quarter of a mile of the very Shore; where we chopt to an anchor, and rid it out for Life and Death. Such Miseries as these, we endured amongst these Shoals and broken Grounds, or rather more desperate than I have related: very unpleasant perchance to be read; with Snow, Hail, and stormy Weather, and colder than ever I felt it in *England* in my life. Extreme Pains made a great part of the Company sickly.

All this lasted with us until the 30th of this month of *September*, which we thought would have put an end to our Miseries; for now we were driven amongst Rocks, Shoals, Overfalls, and Breaches round about us, that which way to turn we knew not; but there rid amongst them in extremity of Distress. All these perils made a most hideous, and terrible noise in the Night Season; and I hope it will not be accounted ridiculous, if what I relate, with what Meditations I was affected now and then, amongst my ordinary Prayers; which I here afford the Reader, as I there conceived them in these few ragged and torn Rhimes.

Oh my poor Soul! why dost thou grieve to see,
So many deaths muster to murder me?
. . . We have with Confidence relied upon
A rusty Wire, touch'd with a little Stone;
Incompass'd round with paper, and, alas!
To house it harmless, nothing but a Glass;
And thought to shun a thousand Dangers, by
The blind direction of this senseless Flie;
When the fierce Winds shatter'd black Nights asunder
Whose pitchy Clouds, spitting forth fire and thunder,
Hath shook the Earth, and made the Ocean roar;
And run to hide it in the broken shore:
Now thou must steer by Faith, a better guide;
'Twill bring thee safe to Heaven against the Tide
Of Satan's malice: Now let quiet gales
Of saving Grace inspire thy zealous Sails.

The first of *October* was indifferent fair Weather, and with a windward tide, out went our Boat to sound a Channel to help us out of this perilous Place. The Boat within two hours returned, and told us how she had been a Way where there was no less than 12 fathom. We presently thereupon weighed, but found it otherwise, and came amongst many strange Races and Over-falls, upon which there went a very great and breaking Sea. As we proceeded, the water shoalded to six fathom. Well! there was no Remedy: we must go forward, *happy be lucky*, seeing there neither was any riding, and as little hope to turn any way with a Sail, but that there appeared present Death in it. It pleased God so to direct us, that we got through it, having no less than five several, and all very uncertain Depths.

The 2d, in the Morning was little Wind. I took the Boat, and went ashore on an Island that was to the southward of us, which I named, *The Earl of Danby's Island.* From the highest place in it, I could see it all broken Grounds and Shoals to the Southward; and rather worse than any thing better, than that which we had been in. I found that the Salvages had been upon it, and that it was full of Wood.

The 4th, it did snow and blow very hard, yet I got ashore, and appointed the Boat to go to another place, which made like a River, and to sound it.

After we had well wearied ourselves in troublesome Woods, we returned to the place I had appointed the Boat to tarry for me: where at my coming I still found her; she having not been where I had ordered her, for it had blown such a fierce Gale of Wind, that she could not row to windward. Thus we returned aboard with no good news. It continued foul Weather, with Snow and Hail, and extreme Cold, till the sixth; when, with a favouring Wind, we stood in nearer to the Shore, and here moored the Ship.

IV. The 7th, it snowed all day, so that we were fain to clear it off the Decks with Shovels, and it blew a very Storm withal. It continued snowing and very cold Weather; and it did so freeze, that all the Bows of the Ship, with her Beak-head, was all Ice: about the Cable also was Ice as big as a man's middle. The bows of the Boat were likewise frozen half a foot thick, so that we were fain to hew, and beat it off. The Sun did shine very clear, and we tore the Topsails out of the Tops, which were hard frozen in them, into a lump; so that there they hung a sunning all day, in a very lump; the Sun not having power to thaw one drop of them. After the Boat was fitted, we rowed towards the Shore, but could not come near the Place where we were used to land; for that it was all thickened water, with the Snow that had fallen upon the Sands, that are dry at low water. This

made it so difficult to row, that we could not set through it with four oars, yet something higher to the westward, we got ashore. Seeing now the Winter to come thus extremely on upon us, and that we had very little Wood aboard; I made them fill the Boat, and went aboard, and sent the Carpenter and others to cut Wood; others to carry it to the water-side, whilst the Boat brought it aboard; for I doubted, that we were likely to be debarred the Shore, and that we should not go to and again with the Boat. It was miserable and cold already aboard the Ship; every thing did freeze in the Hold, and by the fire-side. Seeing, therefore, that we could no longer make use of our Sails (which be the wings of a Ship) it raised many doubts in our minds that here we must stay the Winter. After we had brought so much Wood aboard, as we could conveniently stow, and enough, as I thought, would have lasted two or three months; the sick men desired that some House or Hovel might be built ashore, whereby they might be the better sheltered, and recover their healths. I took the Carpenter (and others whom I thought fit for such a purpose) and chusing out a place, they went immediately to work upon it. In the mean space, I myself, accompanied with some others, wandered up and down in the Woods, to see if we could discover any signs of Salvages; that so we might the better provide for our safeties against them. We found

no appearance that there were any on this Island, nor near unto it. The Snow, by this time, was half-leg high; and stalking through it, we returned comfortless to our Companions, who had all this time wrought well upon our House. They aboard the Ship, took down our Top-sails in the mean while, and made a great fire upon the hearth in the Hatch-way; so that having well thawed them, they folded them up and put them betwixt Decks, that if we had any weather they might bring them again to the Yard. Thus in the evening we returned aboard.

The 12th, we took our Mainsail from the Yard, which was hard frozen to it, and carried it ashore to cover our House withal, being first fain to thaw it by a great fire. By Night they had covered it, and had almost hedged it about; and the six Builders did desire to lie in it ashore that Night, which I condescended unto: having first fitted them with Muskets and other furniture, and a charge to keep good watch all night. Moreover, they had ashore two Grey hounds (a dog and a bitch) which I had brought out of *England*, to kill us some Deer, if happily we could find any. By the *thirteenth* at night, our house was ready; and our six builders desired they might travel up into the Country, to see what they could discover.

The 15th, in the evening, our Hunters returned very weary, and brought with them a small

lean Deer, in four quarters; which rejoiced us all, hoping we should have had more of them to refresh our sick men withal. They reported that they had wandered above twenty miles, and had brought this Deer above twelve miles, and that they had seen nine or ten more. The last Night they had a very cold lodging in the Woods, and so it appeared, for they looked all almost starved, nor could they recover themselves in three or four days after. They saw no sign of Salvages, nor of any ravening wild Beasts, nor yet any hope of Harbour.

The 17th, my Lieutenant and five more, desired they might try their fortunes in travelling about the Island. But they had far worse luck than the others, although they endured out all Night, and had wandered very far in the Snow, (which was now very deep) and returned comfortless, and miserably disabled with the coldness. But what was worse than all this, they had lost one of their company, *John Barton*, namely, our gunner's mate; who being very weary, merely to save the going about, had attempted to go over a pond, that was a quarter of a mile over; where, when he was in the very midst, the Ice brake and closed upon him, and we never saw him more. . . . . This month of *October* ended with Snow, and bitter cold Weather.

The first of *November* I cast up my accounts with the Steward concerning our Victuals, the third

part of our time being this day out. I found him an honest man. . . Every month I made a new Survey, and, every six months, put what we had spared, by itself; which was now at least a month's provision of Bread, and a fortnight's of Peas and Fish, &c.

The 3d, the Boat endeavoured to get ashore, but could not set through the thick congealed water.

The 4th, they found a place to get ashore; and so once in two or three days, till the ninth, bringing Beer to our men ashore in a barrel, which would freeze firmly in the house in one night. Other Provision they had store. The Ice beer being thawed in a kettle, was not good, and they did break the Ice of the ponds of water, to come at Water to drink. This Pond Water had a most loathsom smell with it; so that doubting lest it might be infectious, I caused a Well to be sunk near the house. There we had very good water, which did taste (as we flattered ourselves with it,) even like Milk.

The 10th, (having store of Boards for that purpose) I put the Carpenter to work, to make us a little Boat, which we might carry (if occasion were) over the Ice, and make use of her, where there was water. At Noon I took the latitude of this Island by two quadrants, which I found to be 52°. I urged the men to make traps to catch Foxes, for

we did daily see many. Some of them were pied, black and white; whereby I gathered that there were some black Foxes, whose skins, I told them, were of great value; and I promised, that whosoever could take one of them, should have the skin for his reward. Hereupon they made divers Traps, and waded in the Snow (which was very deep) to place them in the Woods.

The 12th, our House took fire, but we soon quenched it. We were fain to keep an extraordinary fire night and day; and this accident made me order a watch to look to it continually; seeing, that if our house and clothing should be burnt, that all we, were but in a woful condition. I lay ashore till the 17th, all which time our Miseries did increase. It did snow and freeze most extremely. At which time, we looking from the Shore towards the Ship, she did look like a piece of Ice, in the fashion of a Ship, or a Ship resembling a piece of Ice. The Snow was all frozen about her, and all her fore part firm Ice, and so was she on both sides also. Our Cables froze in the hawse, wonderful to behold. I got me aboard, where the long nights I spent with tormenting cogitations; and, in the day time, I could not see any hope of saving the Ship. This I was assured of, that it was impossible to endure these extremities long.

The 19th, our gunner (who, as you may remember, had his leg cut off,) did languish irre-

coverably, and now grew very weak; desiring, that for the little time he had to live, he might drink Sack altogether, which I ordered he should do.

The 22d, in the morning he died. An honest and strong hearted man. He had a close boarded Cabin in the gun room, which was very close indeed; and as many clothes on him as was convenient (for we wanted no clothes,) and a pan with coals, and a Fire continnally in his Cabin: for all which warmth his plaister would freeze at his wound, and his bottle of Sack at his head. We committed him, at a good distance from the Ship, unto the Sea.

The 23d, the Ice did increase extraordinarily, and the Snow lay on the water in flakes, as it did fall; much Ice withal drove by us, yet nothing hard all this while. In the Evening, after the Watch was set, a great piece came athwart our hawse, and four more followed after him, the least of them a quarter of a mile broad. Which in the dark did very much astonish us; thinking it would have carried us out of the Harbour, upon the Shoal's eastern-point, which was full of rocks. It was newly congealed, a matter of two inches thick, and we broke through it, the Cable and Anchor induring an incredible stress, sometimes stopping the whole Ice. We shot off three muskets, signying to our men ashore, that we were in distress; who answered us again but could not help us. By

ten a clock it was all past: nevertheless, we watched carefully, and the weather was warmer than we had felt it any time this month. In the Morning, at break of day, I sent for our men aboard, who made up the house, and arrived by ten, being driven by the way, to wade thorough the congealed water, so that they recovered to the boat with difficulty. There drove by the Ship many pieces of Ice, though not so large as the former, yet much thicker: One piece came foul of the Cable, and made the Ship drive.

As soon as we were clear of it, we joined our strengths together, and had up our eastermost Anchor; and now I resolved to bring the Ship * aground, for no Cables nor Anchors could hold her. . . . With the flood we weighed our westermost Anchor, perceiving God's assistance manifestly, because it happened to be fine warm Weather; otherwise we had not been able to work. The Wind was now South, which blew it in upon the shore, and made the lowest Tides. We brought the Ship into twelve foot water, and laid out one Anchor in the offing, and another in shoalded water, to draw her a land at command. Our hope also was, that some stones that were to the westward of us, would fend off some of the Ice. We then being about a mile from the shore, about ten a clock in the dark,

* Here, in the Original, *Captain James* subjoins his Reasons, for not sooner bringing his Ship aground.

Night, the Ice came driving upon us, and our Anchors came home. She drove some two cables' length; and the Wind blowing on the Shore, by two a clock she came aground, and stoptmuch Ice; yet she lay well all Night, and we took some rest.

The 25th, the Wind shifted Easterly, and put abundance of Ice on us. When the flood was made, we encouraged one another, and to work we go, drawing home our Anchors by main force, under great pieces of Ice, our endeavour being to put the Ship to the shore. But to our great discomforts, when the half tide was made (which was two hours before high water) the Ship drove amongst the Ice to the eastward (do what we could) and so would have shoalded on the Rocks. As I have formerly said, these two days, and this day, was very warm Weather, and it did rain, which it had not yet but once done, since we came hither; otherwise, it had been impossible we could have wrought. Withal the Wind shifted also to the South, and at the very instant, blew a hard puff, which so continued for half an hour. I caused our two Top-sails to be had up from betwixt decks, and we hoisted them up with ropes in all haste; and we forced the Ship ashore, when she had not half a cable's length to drive on the rocky Shoals. In the Evening we broke away through the Ice, and put an Anchor to shoreward in five foot water, to keep her to the Shore if possible it might be. Here *Sir Hugh Wil-*

Iougby came into my mind, who without doubt was driven out of his Harbour in this manner, and so starved at sea. But God was more merciful to us. About nine a clock at Night, the wind came up at N. W. and blew a very Storm. This Wind was off the shore, which blew away all the Ice from about us, long before we were afloat. There came in a great rowling Sea, withal, about the point, accompanied with a great Surf on Shore. And now were we left to the mercy of the Sea, on the ground. By ten, she began to rowl in her dock; and, soon after, began to beat upon the ground. We stood at the Capstang as many as could; others at the pumps; for we thought that every fifth or sixth blow would have staved her to pieces. We heaved to the uttermost of our strengths to keep her as near the ground as we could. By reason of this Wind, it flowed very much water, and we drew her up so high, that it was doubtful if ever we should get her off again. She continued thus beating till two a clock next Morning, and then she again settled. Whereupon we went to sleep to restore Nature; seeing the next tide we expected to be again tormented.

The 26th, in the Morning tide, our Ship did not float, whereby we had some quietness. After Prayers, I called a consultation of the Master, my Lieutenant, the Mate, Carpenter, and Boatswain; to whom I proposed, that now we were

put to our last shifts, and therefore they should tell me what they thought of: Namely, whether it were not best to carry all our Provision ashore; and that when the Wind should come Northerly, it were not safest to draw her farther off and sink her. After many reasonings, they allowed of my purpose, and so I communicated it to the Company, who all willingly agreed to it. And so we fell to getting up of our Provisions; first our Bread, of which we landed this day two dry-fats with a hogshead of beef; having much ado to set the Boat thorough the thick congealed water.

The 27th, the Bay continued full of Ice, which I hoped would so continue and freeze, that we should not be put to sink our Ship. This day we could land nothing.

The 28th, I made the Carpenter fit a place against all sudden extremities, for that with the first N. W. or Northerly Wind, I meant to effect our last project. In the run of her, on the starboard side, he cut away the sealing and the plank to the sheathing, some four or five inches square, some four foot high from the keel of her, that so it might be bored out in an instant.

The 29th, at five a clock in the morning, the Wind came up at W. N. W. and began to blow very hard. It was ordinary for the Wind to shift from the W. by the N. round about. So first I ordered the Cooper to go down in Hold, and look

to all our Casks; those that were full to mawle in the bungs of them; those that were empty, to get up, or if they could not be gotten up, to stave them. Then to quoil all our Cables upon our lower Tire; and to lay on our spare Anchors, and any thing that was weighty, to keep it down from rising. By seven a clock, it blew a storm at N. W., our bitter Enemy. The Ship was already bedded some two foot in the Sand, and whilst that was a flowing, she must beat. This I before had in my consideration; for I thought she was so far driven up, that we should never get her off. Yet we had been so ferretted by her last beating, that I resolved to sink her right down, rather than run that hazard. By nine a clock, she began to rowl in her Dock, with a most extraordinary great Sea that was come, which I found to be occasioned by the forementioned over-fall: and this was the fatal hour that put us to our wits end. Wherefore I went down in Hold with the Carpenter, and took his augur and bored a hole in the Ship, and let in the water. Thus, with all speed we began to cut out other places to bore thorough, but every place was full of nails. By ten, notwithstanding, the lower Tire was covered with Water, for all which she began so to beat in her Dock, more and more, that we could not work nor stand to do any thing in her: nor would she sink so fast as we would have her; but continued

beating double Blows; first abaft and then before, that it was wonderful how she could endure a quarter of an hour with it. By twelve a clock, her lower Tire rose; and that did so counterbeat on the inside, that it beat the Bulk Heads of the Bread room, Powder room, and Fore piece, all to pieces; and when it came betwixt Decks, the Chests fled wildly about, and the Water did flash and fly wonderfully. So that now we expected every minute, when the Ship would open and break to pieces. At one a clock she beat off her Rudder, and that was gone we knew not which way. Thus she continued beating till three a clock, and then the Sea came up on the upper Deck; soon after, she began to settle. In her we were fain to sink the most part of our bedding and clothes; and the Chirurgeon's chest with the rest.

Our men that were ashore, stood looking upon us, almost dead with Cold, and Sorrows, to see our Misery, and their own. We looked upon them again, and both upon each other with woful hearts. Dark night drew on, and I bade the Boat to be haled up, and commanded my loving Companions to go all into her; who, in some refusing compliments, expressed their faithful affections to me, as loth to part from me. I told them that my meaning was to go ashore with them. And thus, lastly, I forsook the Ship.

We were * seventeen poor Souls now in the Boat; and we now imagined, *that we were leapt out of the frying pan into the fire:* The Ebb was made, and the Water extraordinary thick, congealed with Snow; so that we thought assuredly, it would carry us away into the Sea. We thereupon double manned four Oars, appointing four more to set ready with Oars; and so with the help of God, we got to the Shore, haling up the Boat after us. One thing was most strange in this thick water; namely, that there went a great swelling Sea. Being arrived upon the Land, we greeted our Fellows the best we could, at which time they could not know us, nor we them by our habits nor voices; so frozen all over we were, Faces, Hair, and Apparel. And here I mean to take breath awhile, after all this long and unpleasant Relation, of our miserable Endeavours.

OUR WINTERING.

V. After we had haled up the Boat, we went along the Breach side in the Dock, towards our House, where we made a good Fire; and with it, and Bread and Water, we thawed and comforted

* In the third Edition, 8vo, *fourteen.* But this Edition, as observed before, is full of Errors.

ourselves; beginning after that to reason one with another, concerning our Ship.

I required that every one should speak his mind freely. The Carpenter, especially, was of opinion, that she was foundered, and would never be serviceable again. He alledged, that she had so beaten, that it was not possible, but that all her joints were loose, and seams open; and that by reason it flowed so little water, and no Creek nor Cove being near, wherein to bring her aground, he could not devise how he might come to mend it. Moreover, her Rudder was lost, and he had no iron work to hang on another. Some alledged, that we had heaved her up so high upon the Sands, that they thought we should never have her off again, and that they were assured she was already docked three foot. Others, that she lay in the Tides way, and that the Ice might tear her to pieces off the ground; besides which, two of our anchors we could not now get from under the Ice; which when the Ice break (which would be of a great thickness by the Spring,) would break our Anchors to pieces; and then we should have no Anchors to bring us home withal, supposing we got off the Ship, and that she proved sound also. I comforted them the best I could with such like words: *My Masters and faithful Companions! be not dismayed for any of these Disasters, but let us put our whole trust in God. It is he that giveth, and he*

taketh away; he throws down with one hand, and raiseth up with another: His will be done. If it be our fortunes to end our days here, we are as near Heaven as in England. . . . And in my judgment, we are not yet so far past Hope of returning into our Native Countries, but that I see a fair way by which we may effect it. Admit the Ship be foundered (which God forbid, I hope the best) Yet have those of our own Nation, and others, when they have been put to these Extremities, even out of the wreck of their lost Ship, built them a Pinnace, and recovered their Friends again. If it be objected, that they have happened into better climates, both for temperatedness of the Air, and for pacifick and open Seas, and provided withal, of abundance of fresh Victuals; yet there is nothing too hard for courageous Minds: Which hitherto you have shewn, and I doubt not, will still do, to the uttermost of your Power.

They all protested to work to the uttermost of their strength, and that would refuse nothing that I should order them to do, to the uttermost hazard of their lives. I thanked them all; and to the Carpenter, for his cheerful undertaking, I promised to give him so much Plate presently, as should be worth ten pound sterling: And if so be I went to *England* in the Pinnace, I would give her him freely, and fifty pounds in money over and above; and would moreover gratify all them, that I should

see painful, and industrious. Thus we then resolved, to build us a new Pinnace with the Timber we should get upon the Island; that in the Spring, if we found not the Ship serviceable, we might tear her up, and plank her with the Ship's planks. And so for this Night we settled ourselves close about the Fire, and took some rest till day-light.

The 30th, betimes in the Morning, I caused the Chirurgeon to cut the Hair of my Head short, and to shave away all the Hair of my Face: for that it was become intolerable, and that it would be frozen so great with Icicles. The like did all the rest.

The *first* of *November*, we fitted ourselves to work. The first thing we were to do, was to get our Clothes and Provisions ashore, and therefore I divided the Company. The Master, and a convenient Company with him, were to go aboard, and get things out of the Hold. The Cock-swain, with his Gang, were to go in the Boat, to bring and carry things ashore. Myself, with the rest, to carry it half a mile through the Snow, unto the place where we intended to build a Store house: as for the heavier things, we purposed to lay them upon the Beach. In the Afternoon the Wind was at South south west, and the water veered to so low an ebb, that we thought we might get something from the Hold. We launched our Boat

therefore, and with Oars set through the thick congealed Water. It did freeze extream hard, and I did stand on the Shore with a troubled mind, thinking verily that with the Ebb, the Boat would be carried into the Sea, and that then we were all lost men. But by God's assistance, they got safely to the Ship, and made a Fire there to signify their arrival aboard. They fell presently to work, and got something out of the Hold, upon the Decks; but Night coming on, they durst not adventure to come ashore, but lay on the bed, in the great cabbin, being almost starved.

The *first* of *December*, was so cold, that I went the same way over the Ice to the Ship, where the Boat had gone yesterday. This day we carried upon our backs, in bundles, 500 of our Fish, and much of our Bedding and Clothes, which we were fain to dig out of the Ice.

The 2d was mild Weather; and some of the men going over the Ice, fell in, and were very hardly recovered. So that this day we could land nothing, neither by Boat nor back: I put them therefore to make us a Store-house ashore. In the Evening, the Wind came up at West; and the Ice did break and drive out of the Bay: It was very deep and large Ice, that we much doubted it would have spoiled the Ship.

The *third* day, there were divers great pieces of Ice, that came athwart the Ship, and she stopped

them; yet not so, that we could go over them. We found a way for the Boat; but when she was loaden, she drew four foot water, and could not come within a flight shot of the Shore. The Men therefore must wade through the thick congealed Water, and carry things out of the Ship upon their Backs. Every time they waded in the Ice, 'twas most lamentable to behold. In this extreme cold Evening, they cut away as much Ice from about the Boat, as they could, and pecked it with Hand-spikes out of her, and endeavouring to hoist her into the Ship: there being small hope, that she could go to and again, any more. But use what means they could, she was so heavy, that they could not hoise her in, but were fain there to leave her in the tackles by the Ship's side.

The 10th, our Carpenter found Timber to make a Keel, and a Stern for our Pinnace; the rest wrought about our Provisions until the *thirteenth* day; and that we spent in digging our Boat out of the Ice, which we were fain to do, to the very Keel; and dig the Ice out of her, and then we got her up on the Ice. In which doing, many had their Noses, Cheeks, and Fingers, frozen as white as paper. The Cold now increased most extreamly. By the 19th, we could get no more things out of our Hold; but were fain to leave five barrels of beef and pork, all our beer, and divers other things; which were all firm frozen in her.

The 21st was so cold, that we could not go out of the House. The 23d, we went to heave our Boat ashore, running her over our Oars; but by ten a clock, there came such a thick Fog, that it was as dark as night. I made them give over, and make what haste we could to the Shore; which we had much ado to find, for the time, losing one another. At the last, we met all at the House, the miserablest frozen that can be conceived. Upon divers, the Cold had raised blisters as big as Wall-nuts. This we imagined to come, by reason that they came too hastily to the Fire. Our Well was now frozen up; so that dig as deep as we could, we can come by no water. Melted Snow water is very unwholesome, either to drink or to dress victuals. It made us so short-breathed, that we were scarce able to speak. All our Sack, Vinegar, Oil, and every thing else that was liquid, was now frozen as hard as a piece of Wood, and we must cut it with a hatchet. Our House was all frozen on the inside, and it froze hard within a yard of the Fire-side.

When I landed first upon this Island, I found a Spring under a Hill-side; which I then observing, had caused some Trees to be cut for marks to know the place again by. It was about three quarters of a mile from our House. I sent three of our men, which had been formerly with me, thither upon the 24th. These wading thorow the Snow,

at last found the Place, and shoveling away the Snow, they made way to the very head of it. They found it spring very strongly, and brought me a Can of it, for which I was right joyful. This Spring continued all the year, and did not freeze but that we could break the Ice and come to it. We laboured very hard these three or four days, to get Wood to the House, which we found to be very troublesome thorow the deep Snow.

We then settled our Bedding and Provisions, providing to keep *Christmas-day* holy, which we solemnized in the joyfullest manner we could. So likewise did we St. *John's* day. Upon which we named the Wood we did winter in, in memory of that honourable knight, *Sir John Winter*, *Winter's* Forest: And now, instead of a Christmas Tale, I will here describe the House that we did live in, with those adjoining.

When I first resolved to build a House, I chose the warmest and convenientest Place, and the nearest the Ship withal. It was amongst a tuft of thick Trees, under a South bank, about a flight-shot from the Sea's side. True it is, that at that time we could not dig into the ground, to make us a hole or Cave in the earth (which had been the best way) because we found Water within two foot digging, and therefore that project failed. It was a white light Sand, so that we could by no means make up a Mud-wall; as for Stones, there were

none near us, which moreover were all now covered with the Snow. We had no Boards for such a purpose, and therefore we must do the best we could, with such Materials as we had about us.

The House was square, about twenty foot every way, as much, namely, as our Main Course could well cover: First, we drove strong Stakes into the Earth, round about, which we watteled with Boughs, as thick as might be, beating them down very close. This our first work was six foot high on both sides, but at the ends, almost up to the very top; there we left two holes for the light to come in at, and the same way the smoak did vent out also. Moreover, I caused, at both ends, three rows of thick Bush Trees, to be stuck up as close together as might be possible. Then at a distance from the House, we cut down Trees, proportioning them into lengths of six foot, with which we made a pile on both sides, six foot thick and six foot high; but at both ends, ten foot high, and six foot thick. We left a little low Door to creep into, and a Portal before that, made with piles of Wood, that the Wind might not blow into it. We next of all fastened a rough Tree aloft over all, upon which we laid our Rafters, and our Main Course over those again; which lying thwart-ways over all, did reach down to the very ground on either side. And this was the fabrick of the outside of it. On

the Inside, we made fast our Bonnet-sails round about. Then we drove in Stakes, and made us Bedstead frames, about three sides of the House, which Bedsteads were double one under another; the lowermost being a foot from the ground. These we first filled with boughs, then we laid some spare Sails on that, and then our Bedding and Cloaths. We made a Hearth or Causie in the middle of the House, and on it made our Fire. Some boards we laid round about our Hearth to stand upon, that the cold damp should not strike up into us. With our waste Clothes we made us Canopies and Curtains, others did the like with our small Sails.

Our second House, was not past twenty foot distant from this, and made, for the watteling, much after the same manner; but it was less, and covered with our Fore Course. It had no Piles on the south-side, but in lieu of that, we piled up all our Chests on the inside; and, indeed, the reflex of the heat of the fire against them did make it warmer than the Mansion House. In this House, we drest our Victuals, and the subordinate Crew did refresh themselves all day in it. A third House, which was our Store House, we likewise made some twenty paces off from this, for fear of firing. This House was only a rough Tree, fastened aloft, with rafters laid from it to the ground, and covered with our new suit of Sails. On the inside we had laid

small Trees, and covered them over with boughs, and so stored up our bread and fish in it, about two foot from the ground, the better to preserve them. Other things lay more carelessly. Long before Christmas, our Mansion House was covered thick over with Snow, almost to the very roof of it, and so likewise was our Second House; but our Store-house, all over, by reason we made no fire in it: Thus we seemed to live in a heap, and wilderness of Snow. Forth a-doors we could not go, but upon the Snow, in which we made us paths middle deep in some places, and in one special place, the length of ten steps. To do this, we must shovel away the Snow first; and then by treading, make it something harder under foot. The Snow in this Path, was full a yard thick under us; and this was our best gallery for the sick men, and for mine own ordinary walking. And both Houses and Walks we did daily accommodate more and more, and make fitter for our uses.

The 27th, we got our Boat ashore, and fetcht up some of our Provisions from the Beach-side into the Store-house; and so by degrees did we with the rest of our Provisions, with extremity of cold and labour; making way with Shovels, thorow the deep Snow, even from the Sea-side unto our Store-house. And thus we concluded the old year 1631.

January 1632.—The *first* of *January*, and for the most part of all the Month, was extreme cold.

The 6th, I observed the Latitude with what exactness I could, it being very clear sun-shine Weather, which I found to be 51° 52′. This difference is, by reason that here is a great refraction.

The 21st, I observed the Sun to rise like an oval, along the Horizon: I called three or four to see it, the better to confirm my judgment; and we all agreed that it was twice as long as it was broad. We plainly perceived withal, that by degrees, as it gate up higher, it also recovered its roundness.

The 30th, and 31st, there appeared, in the beginning of the Night, more stars, in the firmament, that ever I had before seen, by two thirds. I could see the cloud in *Cancer* full of small stars, and all the *Via Lactea*, nothing but small stars; and amongst the *Pleiades* a great many small stars. About ten o'clock the Moon did rise, and then a quarter of them was not to be seen. The Wind for the most part of this month had been Northerly, and very cold; the warmest of which time we imployed ourselves in fetching Wood, working upon our Pinnace, and other things that happened. In the beginning of this Month the Sea was all firmly frozen over, so that we could see no water any way *. . . . . Our men found it more mortifying cold to wade thorow the Water in the beginning of *June*, when the Sea was all full of Ice, than in

* Here Captain *James* makes some remarks On the Formation of such an abundance of Ice.

December, when it was increasing. Our Well, moreover, out of which we had Water in *December*, we had none in *July*.

The Ground at ten foot deep was frozen: The quantity of the Ice may very easily be made appear, by mathematical demonstration; and yet I am not of the opinion, that the Bay doth not freeze all over; for the 21st, the Wind blowing a Storm at North, we could perceive the Ice to rise something in the Bay.

February.—The Cold was as extreme this Month as at any time we had felt it this year; and many of our men complained of Infirmities, some of sore Mouths, all the Teeth in their Heads being loose, their Gums swoln, with black rotten flesh, which must every day be cut away. The pain was so sore on them, that they could not eat their ordinary meat. Others complained of pain in their Heads and their Breasts; some of weakness in their Breasts; some of weakness in their Backs, others of aches in their Thighs, and Knees; and others of swellings in their Legs. Thus were two thirds of the Company under the Chirurgeon's hands; and yet, nevertheless, they must work daily, and go abroad to fetch wood and timber, notwithstanding the most of them had no Shoes to put on. Their Shoes, upon their coming to the fire, out of the Snow, were burnt and scorcht upon their feet, and our store Shoes were all sunk in the Ship. In this

necessity they would make this shift; to bind clouts about their Feet, and endeavoured by that poor help, the best they could, to perform their duties. Our Carpenter likewise is by this time fallen sick to our great discomforts. As for our Clock and Watch, notwithstanding we still kept them by the fire-side, in a Chest wrapt in clothes, yet were they so frozen that they could not go.

Since now I have spoken so much of the Cold, I hope it will not be too coldly taken, if I, in a few words, make it some way to appear to our Readers. We made three differences of the Cold, all according to the Places. In our House; in the Woods; and in the open Air, upon the Ice, in our going to the Ship. For the last, it would be sometimes so extreme, that it was not indurable; no Cloaths were proof against it, no Motion could resist it. It would, moreover, so freeze the hair on our eye-lids, that we could not see; and I verily believe that it would have stifled a man in a very few hours. We did daily find by experience, that the Cold in the Woods would freeze our faces, or any part of our flesh that was bare, but it was yet not so mortifying as the other. Our House on the outside, was covered two third parts with Snow, and on the inside, frozen and hanged with ice-sickles. The Cloathes on our Beds, would be covered with Hoar-frost, which in this little habitacle, was not far from the fire. But let us come a little nearer

to it: The Cook's tubs, wherein he did water his meat, standing about a yard from the fire, and which he did all day ply with melted snow-water; yet in the Night season, whilst he slept but one watch, would they be firm frozen to the very bottom. And, therefore, was he fain to water his meat in a brass Kettle, close adjoining to the fire; and I have many times both seen and felt, by putting my hand into it, that side which was next the fire was very warm, and the other side an inch frozen: I leave the rest to our Cook, who will almost speak miracles of the Cold. The Surgeon, who had hung his bottles of syrups and other liquid things, as conveniently as he could, to preserve them, had them all frozen: Our Vinegar, Oil and Sack, which we had in small casks in the House, was all firm frozen. It may farther in general be conceived, that in the beginning of *June*, the Sea was not broken up, and the ground was yet frozen: And thus much we found by experience, in the burying of our men, in setting up the King's standard towards the latter end of *June*, and by our well, at our coming away in the beginning of *July;* at which time, upon the Land, for some other reasons, it was very hot weather.

March.—The first of this Month, being St. David's day, we kept holiday, and solemnized it in the manner of the ancient *Britons*, praying for his Highness's happiness, CHARLES PRINCE OF WALES.

The 15th, one of our men thought he had seen a Deer; whereupon, he with two or three more desired that they might go, to see if they could take it. I gave them leave; but in the Evening they returned so disabled with Cold, which did rise up in blisters under the soles of their feet, and upon their legs, to the bigness of walnuts; that they could not recover their former estate (which was not very well) in a fortnight after. The 20th, three more desired that they also might go out to try their fortunes, but they returned worse disabled, and even almost stifled with cold. This Evening the Moon rose in a very long oval, along the horizon. By the last of this Month, the Carpenter had set up 17 ground timbers and 31 staddles, and (poor man) he proceedeth the best he can, though he be fain to be led unto his labour.

In brief, all this Month hath been very cold. The Wind about the N. W. The Snow as deep as it hath been all this Winter: but to answer an Objection that may be made; *You were in a Wood* (may some men say unto us) *and therefore you might make Fire enough to keep you from the Cold.* It is true, we were in a Wood, and under a south Bank too, or otherwise we had all starved. But I must tell you, withal, how difficult it was to have wood in a Wood.... The three, that were appointed to look crooked Timber, must stalk and wade (sometimes on all four) thorow the Snow; and where they saw a Tree likely to fit the mould,

they must first heave away the Snow, and then see if it would fit the mould; if not, they must seek farther. If it did fit the mould, then they must make a fire to it, to thaw it, otherwise it could not be cut: then cut it down, and fit it to the length of the mould, and then with other help get it home, a mile thorow the Snow.

Now for our firing. We could not burn green wood; it would so smoke, that it was not indurable; yea, the men had rather starve without in the Cold, than sit by it. As for the dry wood, that also was bad enough in that kind; for it was full of Turpentine, and would send forth such a thick smoke, that would make abundance of Soot, which made us all look as if we had been free of the Company of Chimney-sweepers. Our Clothes were quite burnt in pieces about us, and for the most part we were all without shoes—But to our Fuellers again: They must first (as the former) go up and down in the Snow, till they saw a standing dry Tree; for that the Snow covered any that were fallen. Then they must hack it down with their pieces of hatchets, and then others must carry it home thorow the Snow. The boys with cutlasses must cut boughs for the Carpenter; for every piece of Timber that he did work, must be first thawed in the fire, and he must have a fire by him, or he could not work. And this was our continual labour throughout the fore-mentioned Cold, besides our

tending of the Sick, and other necessary imployments.

April.—The first of this Month, being *Easter-day*, we solemnized as religiously as God did give us grace. Both this day, and the two following holidays were extreme cold: And now sitting all about the fire, we reasoned and considered together upon our estate.

We had five men (whereof the Carpenter was one) not able to do any thing. The Boatswain and many more were very infirm; and of all the rest we had but five that could eat of their ordinary allowance. The time and season of the year came forwards apace, and the Cold did very little mitigate. Our Pinnace was in an indifferent forwardness, but the Carpenter grew worse and worse. The Ship, as we then thought, lay all full of solid Ice; which was weight enough to open the seams of any new and sound Vessel, especially of one that had lain so long upon the ground as she had done. In brief, after my Disputations, and laying open of our miserable and hopeless estates, I resolved upon this course: That notwithstanding it was more labour, and though we declined weaker still and weaker; yet that with the first warm Weather, we would begin to clear the Ship, that so we might have the time before us, to think of some other course. This being ordered, we lookt to those Tools we had, to dig the Ice out of her. We had but two

iron Bars ashore, the rest were sunk in the Ship, and one of them was broken too. Well, we fell to fitting of those Bars, and of four broken shovels that we had, with which we intended (as after we did) to dig the Ice out of her; and to lay that Ice on a heap, upon the larboard-bow, and to sink down that Ice to the ground so fast, that it should be a barricado to us, when the Ice brake up, which we feared would tear us all to pieces.

The 6th, was the deepest Snow we had all this year, which filled up all our paths, and ways, by which we were used to go unto the Wood. This Snow was something moister and greater than any we had all this year; for formerly it was as dry as dust, and as small as sand, and would drive like dust with the Wind.

The Weather continued with this extremity until the 15th, at which time our Spring was harder frozen, than it had been all the year before. I had often observed the difference betwixt clear Weather, and misty refractions Weather, in this manner. From a little Hill which was near adjoining to our House, in the clearest Weather, when the Sun shone with all the purity of air that I could conceive, we could not see a little Island which bare off us S. S. E. some four leagues off: but if the Weather were misty (as aforesaid) then we should often see it from the lowest place. This little Island I had seen the last year, when I was on *Danby Island*.

The 16th, was the most comfortable sunshine day that came this year; and I put some to clear off the Snow from the upper decks of the Ship, and to clear and dry the great Cabin, by making fire in it. Others I put to dig down thorow the Ice, to come by our Anchor, that was in shoal water; which the 17th, in the Afternoon, we got up and carried aboard. The 18th, I put them to dig down thorow the Ice, near the place where we thought our Rudder might be. They digged down, and came to water, but no hope of finding of it. We had many doubts that it might be sanded, or that the Ice might have carried it away already the last year; or if we could not recover it, by digging before the Ice brake up and drove, there was little hope of it. The 19th, we continued our mineing work aboard the Ship, and returned in the Evening to Supper ashore. This day the Master, and two others, desired that they might lie aboard, which I condescended to: for indeed they had lain very discommodiously all the Winter, and with sick bedfellows, as I myself had done, every one in that kind taking their fortunes. By lying aboard, they avoided the hearing of the miserable groanings, and lamenting of the sick men all Night long, enduring (poor souls) intolerable torments.

By the 21st, we had laboured so hard, that we came to see a Cask, and could likewise perceive that there was some water in the Hold. This we

knew could not be thawed water: because it did still freeze night and day very hard aboard the Ship, and on the Land also. By the 23d, in the Evening, we came to pierce the fore-mentioned Cask, and found it was full of very good Beer; which did much rejoyce us all, especially the sick men; notwithstanding that it did taste a little of bulge-water. By this, we at that time thought, that the holes we had cut to sink the Ship were frozen, and that this water had stood in the Ship all the Winter.

The 24th, we went betimes in the Morning to work, but found that the water was risen above the Ice, where we had left work, about two foot; for that the Wind had blown very hard at North the Night before. In the Morning, the Wind came about South, and blew hard, and although we had little reason for it, we yet expected a lower veer of the water. I thereupon put them to work on the outside of the Ship, that we might come to the lower hole, which we had cut in the Stern-shootes. With much labour by Night, we digged down thorow the Ice to it, and found it unfrozen (as it had been all the Winter) and to our great comforts, we found that on the inside, the water was ebbed even with the hole; and that on the outside it was ebbed a foot lower. Hereupon, I made a shot-board to be nailed on it, and to be made as tight as might be, to try if the water came in any other way. As to the other two holes we had digged on the inside,

we found them frozen. Now I did this betimes, that if we found the Ship foundered, we might resolve of some course to save or prolong our lives, by getting to the Main before the Ice were broken up: for as for our Boat, it was too little, and bulged; besides that, our Carpenter was by this time past hope, and therefore little hope had we of our Pinnace: But which was worst of all, we had not four men able to travel thorow the Snow over the Ice, and in this miserable estate were we at this present.

The 25th, we satisfied our longing; for the Wind now coming about Northerly, the water rose by the Ship's side (where we had digged down,) a foot and more above the Hold, and yet did not rise within board. This did so encourage us, that we fell very lustily to digging, and to heave out the Ice out of the Ship. I put the Cook and some others to thaw the Pumps; who by continual pouring of hot water into them, by the 27th in the Morning, they had cleared one of them; which, we assaying, found that it did deliver water very sufficiently. Thus we fell to pumping; and having cleared two foot water, we then left to have a second trial. Continuing our work thus in digging the Ice, by the 28th we had cleared our other pump; which we also found to deliver water very well. We found likewise that the water did not rise any thing in the Hold. The 29th, it rained all day long, a sure sign to us that Winter was broken up.

VI. The 30th, we were betimes aboard at work; which day, and the 31st, were very cold with Snow and Hail, which did pinch our sick men more than any time this year. This Evening, being May Even, we returned late from our work to our House, and made a good fire, and chose Ladies, and did ceremoniously wear their names in our Caps; endeavouring to revive ourselves by any means. And because you hear us in this merry humour, I will make known to you what good cheer we kept at *Christmas*, and *Easter;* and how we had dieted ourselves all the Winter.

At our coming forth of *England*, we were stored with all sort of Sea Provisions; as Beef, Pork, Fish, &c.; but now that we had little hope of refreshing, our Cook did order it in this manner.

The Beef which was to serve on Sunday night to Supper, he did boil on Saturday night, in a kettle full of water with a quart of oatmeal, about an hour. Then taking the Beef out, he boiled the rest till it came to half the quantity; and this we called Porridge, which, with bread, we did eat as hot as we could; and after this, we had our ordinary of Fish. Sunday dinner we had Pork and pease, and at Night the former boiled Beef made more Porridge. In this manner our Tuesday's Beef was boiled on the Monday Nights; and the Thursday's upon the Wednesday. And thus all the week (except Friday Night) we had some warm thing in

our bellies every Supper. And (surely) this did us a great deal of good. But soon after *Christmas* many of us fell sick, and had sore mouths, and could neither eat Beef, Pork, Fish, nor Porridge. Their Diet was only this. They would pound Bread, or Oatmeal, in a Mortar to meal; then fry it in a frying pan with a little oil, and so eat it. Some would boil Peas to a soft Paste, and feed as well as they could upon that. For the most part of the Winter, Water was our drink. In the whole Winter we took not above a dozen Foxes; many of which would be dead in the traps two or three days oftentimes; and then, when the blood was settled, they would be unwholesome. But if we took one alive, that had not been long in the Trap, him we boiled, and made Broth for the weakest sick men of him; the flesh of it being soft boiled they did eat also. Some white Partridges we killed; but not worth the mentioning towards any refreshing.

We had three sorts of Sick Men: Those that could not move, nor turn themselves in their beds, who must be tended like an Infant. Others, that were as it were crippled with Scurvy-aches. And others, lastly, that were something better: Most of all had sore-mouths. You may now ask me, *how these infirm men could work?* I will tell you: Our Surgeon (who was diligent, and a sweet conditioned man, as ever I saw) would be up betimes in

the Morning; and whilst he did pick their teeth, and cut away the dead flesh from their gums, they would bathe their own thighs, knees, and legs. The manner whereof was this: There were no Trees, Buds, nor Herb, but we made trial of it; and this being first boiled in a kettle, and then put in a small tub and bason, they put it under them, and covered themselves with Clothes upon it. This would so mollify the grieved parts, that although, when they did rise out of their beds, they would be so crippled, that they could scarce stand; yet after this done half an hour, they would be able to go (and must go) to wood thorow the Snow, to the Ship, and about other Business. By Night they would be as bad again; and they must be bathed, anointed, and their mouths again drest, before they went to bed. And with this diet, and in this manner, did we go through our Miseries.

I ever doubted that we should be weakest in the Spring; and therefore had I reserved a ton of *Alicant* Wine unto this time. Of this, by putting seven parts of Water to one of Wine, we made some weak beverage; which, by reason that the Wine being frozen, had lost his virtue, was little better than Water. The sicker sort had a pint of *Alicant* a day, by itself; and of such poor *aqua vitæ* too, as we had, they had a little dram allowed them next their hearts every morning. And thus

we made the best use of what we had, according to the seasons.

May.—The *first* of this Month we went aboard betimes to heave out the Ice. The second, it did snow and blow, and was so cold, that we were fain to keep House all day. This unexpected Cold, at this time of the year, did so vex our sick men, that they grew worse and worse. We cannot now take them out of their Beds, but they would swoon, and we had much ado to fetch life in them. The third, those that were able, went aboard betimes to heave out the Ice. The Snow was now melted in many places upon the Land, and stood in plashes; and now there came some Cranes and Geese to it. The fourth, while the rest wrought aboard, I and the Surgeon went with a couple of pieces, to see if we could kill any of these Fowl for our sick men; but never did I see such Wild-fowl; they would not indure to see any thing move. Wherefore we returned within two hours, not being able to endure any longer stalking through the Snow, and the wet plashes. I verily thought that my feet and legs would have fallen off, they did so torment me with aching.

The 6th, *John Warden*, the Master of my Ship's chief Mate, died; whom we buried in the Evening, in the most christian like manner we could, upon the top of a bare Hill of sand, which we called

Brandon-Hill. The weather continued very cold; freezing so hard in a night that it would bear a man. By the ninth we were come to, and got up our five barrels of Beef and Pork, and had found four butts of Beer, and one of Cyder, which God had preserved for us. It had lain under water all Winter; yet we could not perceive it was any thing the worse. God make us ever thankful for the comfort it gave us . .

The 12th, at Night, we had cleared out all the Ice out of the Hold, and found likewise our store Shoes, which had lain so soaked in the water all the Winter; but we dried them by the fire, and fitted ourselves with them. We struck again our Cables into the Hold. There stowed we a Butt of Wine also, which had been all the Winter on the upper deck, and continued as yet all firm frozen. We fitted the Ship also, making her ready to sink her again, when the Ice brake up. We could hitherto find no defect in her, and therefore well hoped that she was stanch. The Carpenter, nevertheless, did earnestly argue to the contrary. . But that which did trouble us as ill as all this, was the loss of her Rudder, and that she now lay in the very strength of the Tide; which, whenever the Ice drove, might tear her to pieces. But we still hoped the best.

The 13th, being the Sabbath Day, we solemnized, giving God thanks for those Hopes and Comforts we daily had. The Weather by day time was pretty

warm, but it did freeze by Night; yet now we could see some bare patches of Land.

The 14th, we began a new sort of Work. The Boatswain and a convenient number, sought ashore the rest of our Rigging, which was much spoiled by pecking of it out of the Ice; and this they now fell to fitting, and to sewing of it. I set the Cooper to fit our Cask, although (poor man) he was very infirm: my intent being to pass some Cables under the Ship, and so to buoy her up with these Casks, if otherwise we could not get her off. Some others I ordered to go see if they could kill some Wild Fowl, for our sick men, who grew worse and worse. And this is to be remembered, that we had no Shot but what we did make of the Aprons of our Guns, and some old Pewter that I had; for the Carpenter's sheet lead we durst not use.

The 15th, I manured a little patch of ground, that was bare of Snow, and sowed it with Peason, hoping to have some of the herbs of them shortly to eat; for as yet we can find no green thing to comfort us.

The 18th, our Carpenter, *William Cole* died; a man generally bemoaned of us all, as much for his innate goodness, as for the present necessity we had of a man of his quality. He endured a long sickness with much patience, and made a godly end. In the Evening we buried him by Mr. *Warden*,

accompanied with as many as could go; for three more of our principal men lay then expecting a good hour. And now were we in the most miserable Estate, that we were in all the Voyage. Before his extreme weakness, he had brought the Pinnace to that pass, that she was ready to be boulted and trennelled, and to be joined together to receive the plank; so that we were not so discouraged by his death, but that we did hope of ourselves to finish her if the Ship proved unserviceable. This our Pinnace was 27 foot by the Keel, 10 foot by the Beam, and five foot in Hold. She had 17 Ground timbers, 34 principal Staddles, and eight short Staddles. He had contrived her with a round Stern, to save labour; and indeed she was a well proportioned Vessel. Her burthen was twelve or fourteen ton.

In the Evening, the Master of our Ship, after burial, returning aboard Ship, and looking about her, discovered some part of our Gunner, under the gun-room ports. This man we had committed to the Sea, at a good distance from the Ship, and in deep water, near six months before. The nineteenth, in the Morning I sent men to dig him out. He was fast in the Ice, his head downward, and his heel upward, for he had but one leg, and the plaister was yet at his wound. In the Afternoon they had digged him clear out; after all which time he was as free from noisomness, as when we first com-

mitted him to the Sea. This alteration had the Ice and Water, and time only wrought on him, that his Flesh would slip up and down upon his bones, like a glove on a man's hand. In the Evening we buried him by the others. This day one *George Uggames* (who could handle a tool best of us all) had indifferent well repaired our Boat; and so we ended this mournful week.

The Snow was by this time pretti'y well wasted in the Woods; and we having a high Tree, on the highest place of the Island, which we called our Watch Tree, from the top of it we might see into the Sea, but found no appearance of breaking up yet. The twentieth, being *Whit-sunday*, we sadly solemnized; and had some taste of the Wild Fowl, but not worth the writing. . . The 22d, we went aboard the Ship. We fell to pumping, and pumped her quite dry. And now by day, sometimes we have such hot glooms, that we cannot endure in the Sun, and yet in the Night it would freeze very hard. This unnaturalness of the Season did torment our men, that they now grew worse and worse daily. . .

The 24th was very warm Sun-shine, and the Ice did consume by the Shore's side, and cracked all over the Bay, with a fearful noise. About three in the Afternoon, we could perceive the Ice with the ebb to drive by the Ship. Whereupon I sent two with all speed unto the Master, to beat out the hole, and to sink the Ship; as likewise to look for

the Rudder betwixt the Ice. This he presently performed; and a happy Fellow, one *David Hammon*, pecking betwixt the Ice, struck upon it, and it came up with his lance. Who crying that he had found it, the rest came and got it up on the Ice, and so into the Ship. In the mean space, with the little drift that the Ice had, it began to rise and mount into high heaps against the shoal Shores and Rocks; and likewise against the heap of Ice, which we had put for a Barricado to our Ship, but with little harm to us. Yet we were fain to cut away 20 fathom of Cable, which was frozen in the Ice. After an hour, the Ice settled again, as not having any vent outwards.—Oh! this was a joyful day to us all; and we gave God thanks for the hopes we had of it. . .

The 29th, being PRINCE CHARLES's Birth day, we kept Holy-day, and displayed his Majesty's Colours both a land and aboard; and named our Habitation, *Charles-town*, by contraction *Charlton*, and the Island *Charlton Island*. The 30th we launched our Boat, and had intercourse sometimes betwixt the Ship, and Shore, by Boat, which was news to us. The last of this Month, we found on the Beach some Vetches to appear out of the ground, which I made the men to pick up, and to boil for our sick men.

This day we made an end of fitting all our Rigging and Sails, and it being a very hot day, we

did dry and new make our Fish in the Sun, and aired all our other Provisions. There was not a man of us at present able to eat of our salt Provisions, but myself, and the Master of my Ship. It may be remembered, that all this Winter we had not been troubled with any Rheums, nor flegmatical Diseases. All this Month the Wind hath been variable, but for the most part northerly.

June. — The four first Days it did snow, hail, and blow very hard; and was so cold, that the Ponds of water did freeze over; and the water in our cans did freeze in the very House. Our Clothes also that had been washed, and hung out to dry, did not thaw all day.

The 5th, it continued blowing very hard in the broadside of the Ship. . . In the Afternoon we under-run our small Cable to our Anchor, which lay astern in deep water; and so with some difficulty gate up our Anchor. This Cable had lain slack under foot, and under the Ice, all the Winter; and we could never have a clear slatch from the Ice, to have it up before now. We found it not a jot the worse. The 6th, we went about to hang it. And our young lustiest men took turns to go into the water, and to rake away the Sands. But they were not able to endure the cold of it half a quarter of an hour, it was so mortifying; yea, use what Comforts we could, it would make them swoon and die away. We brought it to the Stern-post,

but were then fain to give it over, being able to work at it no longer.

By the 8th, at Night, we had pumped all the water out of her; and she at a high water would fleet in her dock, though she were still docked in the Sands almost four foot. The 9th, betimes in the Morning, we fell to work. We hoisted out our Beer and Cyder, and made a raft of it, fastening it to our shore Anchor. The Beer and Cyder sunk presently to the ground, which was nothing strange to us: for that any Wood or pipe Staves, that had lain under the Ice all the Winter, would also sink down, so soon as ever it was heaved overboard. This day we heaved out ten tun of ballast. And here I am to remember God's goodness towards us, in sending those fore-mentioned green Vetches: for now our feeble sick men, that could not for their lives stir these two or three Months, can indure the Air and walk about the House. Our other sick men gather strength also; and it is wonderful to see how soon they were recovered. We used them in this manner: Twice a day we went to gather the herb or leaf of these Vetches, as they first appeared out of the ground; and then did we wash and boil them, and so with Oil and Vinegar, that had been frozen, we did eat them. It was an excellent Sustenance, and refreshing; the most part of us eat nothing else. We would likewise bruise them, and take the juice of them, and mix that with our

Drink. We would eat them raw also with our Bread.

The 11th, was very warm weather, and we did hang our Rudder. The Tides did now very much deceive us; for a Northerly Wind would very little raise the Water. The 13th, I resolved of the Latitude of this Place; so that having examined the instruments, and practised about it this fortnight, I now found it to be in 52° 3′. This day I went to our Watch-tree: but the Sea (for any I could perceive to the contrary) was still firm frozen; and the Bay we were in, all full of Ice, having no way to vent it.

The 16th, was wondrous hot, with some Lightening and Thunder, so that our men did go into the Ponds ashore to swim and cool themselves: yet was the Water very cold still. Here had lately appeared divers sorts of Flies; as Butter-flies, Butcher's-flies, Horse-flies, and such an infinite abundance of blood-thirsty Muscatoes, that we were more tormented with them, than ever we were with the cold Weather. These, I think, lie dead in the old rotten Wood all the Winter, and in the Summer they revive again. Here be likewise infinite company of Ants, and Frogs in the Ponds upon the Land, but we durst not eat of them, they looked so speckled like Toads. By this time were neither Bears, Foxes, nor Fowl to be seen; they are all gone.

The 17th, the Wind came Northerly; and we, expecting a high Tide in the Morning betimes, put out our Cable astern, out at the gun-room-port; but the Morning tide we had not water by a foot. In the Evening I laid marks, by Stones, &c. and methoughts the water did flow apace.. Making signs therefore for the Boat to come ashore, I took all that were able to do any thing, with me aboard; and at high water (although she wanted something to rise clear out of her dock) yet we heaved with such a good will, that we heaved her through the Sand, into a foot and a half deeper water: further than so, we durst not yet bring her, for that the Ice was all thick about us. After we had moored her, we went all to Prayers; and gave God thanks that had given us our Ship again.

The 18th, we were up betimes. The Cooper, and some with him, to fill fresh water; myself with some others to gather Stones at low water: which, we piling up in a heap; at high water the Cockswain and his Gang fetched them aboard; where the Master with the rest stowed them. The 19th, we were all up betimes to work, as afore specified..... In the Evening I went up to our Watch Tree; and this was the first time I could see any open water any way, except that little by the Shore side, where we were: this put us in some comfort, that the Sea would shortly break up; which we knew must be to the Northward, seeing that way we were certain,

there was above two hundred leagues of Sea.... The 22d, there drove much Ice about us, and within us, and brought home our stern anchor.

The next low Water we sounded all about the Ship, and found it very foul ground. We discovered stones three foot high above the ground, and two of them within a ship's breadth of the Ship. Whereby did more manifestly appear God's Mercies to us: for if, when we forced her ashore, she had strucken one blow against those stones, it had bulged her. Many such dangers were there in this Bay, which we now first perceived, by the Ice's grounding and rising against them. In the Evening we towed off the Ship, unto the place where she rid the last year, and there moored her. The 23d, we laboured in fetching our Provisions aboard; which to do we were fain to wade, to carry it to the Boat a full flight shot, and all by reason the Wind was southerly.

The 24th: Whereas I had formerly cut down a very high Tree, and made a Cross of it, to it I now fastened (uppermost) the King's and Queen's Majesties pictures drawn to the life, and doubly wrapt in lead; and so close, that no Weather could hurt them. Betwixt both these, I affixed his Majesty's royal titles, viz.—CHARLES THE FIRST, KING OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND; AS ALSO OF NEWFOUNDLAND, AND OF THESE TERRITORIES; AND TO THE WESTWARD AS FAR

AS NOVA ALBION; AND TO THE NORTHWARD TO THE LATITUDE OF 80 DEGREES, &c. On the outside of the lead, I fastened a shilling, and a sixpence of his Majesty's Coin. Under that, we fastened the King's Arms fairly cut in lead; under that, the arms of the City of *Bristol*. And this being *Midsummer Day*, we raised it on the top of the bare hill, where we had buried our dead Fellows; formally, by this Ceremony, taking possession of these Territories to his Majesty's use....

The 25th, in the Morning, the Boatswain, with a convenient Crew with him, began to rig the Ship, the rest fetching our Provision aboard. About ten a clock, when it was something dark, I took a lance in my hand, and one with me, with a Musket and some fire; and went to our Watch Tree, to make a fire, on the eminentest place of the Island, to see if it would be answered. Such fires I had formerly made, to have knowledge, if there were any Salvages on the Main, or the Islands about us. Had there been any, my purpose was to have gone to them, to get some intelligence of some Christians, or some Ocean Sea thereabouts. When I was come to the Tree, I laid down my lance, and so did my consort his musket; and whilst myself climbed up to the top of the Tree, I ordered him to put fire unto some low Tree thereabouts. He (unadvisedly) put fire to some Trees that were to windward; so that they (and all the rest too, by reason it had

been very hot weather) being sear and dry, took fire like Flax or Hemp; and the Wind blowing the fire towards me, I made haste down the Tree. But before I was half way down, the fire took in the bottom of it, and blazed so fiercely upwards, that I was fain to leap off the Tree, and down a steep Hill; and, in brief, with much ado, escaped burning. The Moss on the ground was as dry as Flax; and it would run most strangely, and like a train along the earth. The musket and the lance were both burnt. My Consort at last came to me, and was joyful to see me; for he thought verily I had been burned. And thus we went homeward together, leaving the Fire increasing and still burning most furiously. We could see no answer of it. I slept but little all Night after; and at break of day I made all our Powder and Beef to be carried aboard. This day I went to the hills to look to the Fire; where I saw how it did still burn most furiously, both to the Westward and Northward: leaving one upon the Hills to watch it, I came home immediately, and made them take down our new suit of Sails, and carry them to the sea side; ready to be cast in, if occasion were, and to make haste to take down our Houses. About Noon the Wind shifted Northerly; and our Centinel came running home, bringing us word, *That the Fire did follow him hard at his heels, like a train of powder.* It was no need to bid us take down, and carry all

away to the Sea side. The Fire came towards us with a most terrible rattling noise, bearing a full mile in breadth: and by that time we had uncovered our Houses, and laid hand on, to carry away our last things, the Fire was come to our Town, and seized on it, and (in a trice) burnt it down to the ground. We lost nothing of any value in it; for we had brought it all away into a place of security. Our Dogs in this combustion would sit down on their tails, and howl, and then run into the Sea, on the Shoals, and there stay. The Wind shifted Easterly; and the Fire ranged to the Westward, seeking what it might devour. This Night we lay all together aboard the Ship, and gave God thanks that he had shipped us in her again.

The 27th, 28th, and 29th, we wrought hard in fetching our things aboard, as likewise our Water, which we must tow off with the ebb, and bring it to the ship with the flood. Moreover, we must go about the easter point for drift-wood; for our Tools were all so spent, that we could cut none. Wherefore, about some three days agone, I had caused our Pinnace to be sawed to pieces, and with that we stowed our cask; intending to burn it at low water, and such other times as we could not work in carrying things aboard. I employed the men in fetching stones; and we did build three Tombs over our three dead Fellows, filling them up with Sand in a decent and handsome fashion. The least Tomb had two tons of stones about it.

The 30th, we most earnestly continued our labour, and brought our Sails to Yard; and by eleven a eloek at Night had made a priddy Ship; meaning to have finished our business with the Week and the Month, that so we might the better solemnize the Sabbath ashore to-morrow, and so take leave of our Wintering Island.

The Wind hath been variable a great while, and the Bays are now so clear of Ice, that we cannot see a pieee of it, for it was all gone to the * Northward. . . . The Season here in this Climate is most unnatural; for in the day time it will be extreme hot, yea, not indurable in the Sun; which is, by reason that it is a sandy Country. In the Night again it will freeze an inch thick in the ponds, and in the tub, about and in our House; and all this towards the latter end of *June*. The Muscatoes, upon our eoming away, were most intolerable. We tore an old Ancient in pieees; and made us bags of it to put our heads in; but it was no fortification against them. They would find ways and means to sting us, that our faees were swoln hard out in pimples, whieh would so iteh and smart, that we must needs rub and tear them. And these Flies indeed were more tormenting to us, than all the Cold we had heretofore endured.

July.—The first of this Month, being *Sunday*,

* Captain *James* here describes, The manner in which the Ice breaks up, and adds—"It is first to be noted, that it doth not freeze (naturally) above six foot, the rest is by accident. Such is that Ice that you may see here, six fathom thick."

we were up betimes. And I caused our Ship to be adorned the best we could; our Ancient on the poop, and the King's colours in the main-top. I had provided a short Brief of all the passages of our Voyage to this day: I likewise wrote in what state we were at present, and how I did intend to prosecute the Discovery, both to the Westward, and to the Southward, about this Island. This brief Discourse I had concluded, with a Request to any noble minded Traveller, that should take it down, or come to the notice of it; That if we should perish in the Action, then to make our endeavours known to our Sovereign Lord the King. And thus with our Arms, Drum and Colours, Cook and Kettle, we went ashore; and first we marched up to our eminent Cross, adjoining to which we had buried our dead Fellows. There we read Morning Prayer, and then walked up and down till Dinner time. After Dinner we walked to the highest Hills, to see which way the Fire had wasted. We descried that it had consumed to the Westward sixteen miles at least, and the whole breadth of the Island. Near about our Cross, and Dead, it could not come, by reason it was a bare sandy Hill. After Evening Prayer I happened to walk along the Beach side; where I found an Herb resembling Scurvy Grass. I made some to be gathered, which we boiled with our Meat to Supper. It was most excellent good, and far better than our Vetches.

After Supper we went all to seek and gather more of it; which we did to the quantity of two bushels, which did afterwards much refresh us.—And now the Sun was set, and the Boat came ashore for us; whereupon we assembled ourselves together, and went up to take the last view of our Dead, and to look unto their Tombs, and other things. Here leaning upon mine arm, on one of their Tombs, I uttered these Lines: which though perchance they may procure laughter from the wiser sort (which I shall be glad of,) they yet moved my young and tender hearted Companions, at the time, with some Compassion. And these they were:

I were unkind, unless that I did shed,
Before I part, some Tears upon our Dead;
And when my Eyes be dry, I will not cease
In Heart to pray, their Bones may rest in peace.
Their better parts (good Souls, I know were given
With an intent they should return to Heaven,
Their Lives they spent, to the last drop of blood,
Seeking God's glory, and their Countrey's good.
And as a valiant Soldier, rather dies,
Than yield his Courage to his Enemies;
And stops their way, with his hew'd flesh, when Death
Hath quite deprived him of his strength and breath;
So have they spent themselves, and here they lie
A famous mark of our Discovery.
We that survive, perchance may end our days
In some Employment meriting no Praise. .

They have out-lived this Fear, and their brave Ends,
Will ever be an Honour to their Friends.
Why drop you so, mine Eyes? Nay rather pour
My sad Departure in a solemn Shower.
The Winter's Cold, that lately froze our blood,
Now were it so extreme, might do this good,
As make these Tears, bright Pearls: which I would lay,
Tomb'd safely with you, till Doom's fatal day.
That in this Solitary Place, where none
Will ever come to breathe a Sigh or Groan,
Some remnant might be extant, of the true
And faithful love I ever tender'd you.
Oh, rest in Peace, dear Friends, and let it be
No Pride, to say, the sometime part of me.
What pain and anguish doth afflict the head,
The heart and stomach, when the limbs are dead:
So griev'd, I kiss your Graves; and vow to die
A Foster Father to your Memory.

FAREWELL.

So fastening my Brief to the Cross, which was securely wrapped up in lead, we presently took Boat and departed; and never put foot more on that Island.

This Island and all the rest, as likewise the Main, is a light white Sand, covered over with a white Moss, and full of Shrubs and low Bushes; excepting some bare hills, and other patches. In these bare places the Sand will drive with the Wind like dust. It is very full of Trees, as Spruce and Juniper: but the biggest Tree I saw was but a

foot and half over. At our first coming hither, we saw some Deer, and killed one, but never any since. Foxes all the Winter we saw many, and killed some dozen of them; but they went all away in *May*. Bears we saw but few, but killed none. We saw some other little Beasts. In *May* there came some Fowl, as Ducks and Geese; of which we killed very few. White Partridges we saw, but in small quantities; nor had we any shot to shoot at them. Fish we could never see any in the Sea; nor no bones of Fish on the Shore side, excepting a few Cockle shells, and yet nothing in them neither. Other things remarkable I have before mentioned.

OUR DISCOVERY AND COMING HOME.

July, 1632.

VII. Monday, being the 2d of *July*, we were up betimes, about stowing and fitting our Ship, and weighing of our Anchors; which when the last was a-trip, we went to Prayers, beseeching God to continue his mercies to us, and rendering him thanks for having thus restored us. Our Ship we found no defect in; we had abundance of such Provisions, as we brought out of *England*, and we were in indifferent health, and did gather strength daily. This being done, we weighed, and came chearfully to sail. The Wind at N. W. bad to get

away; wherefore we stood over to *Danby* island, to take in more Wood, and there to be ready to take the opportunity of a fair Wind. I went ashore myself with the Boat; for that some of the Company had told me, that they had seen Stakes the last year droven into the ground. When we came ashore, whilst some gathered Wood, I went to the place where I found two Stakes droven into the ground, about a foot and a half, and firebrands, where a fire had been made by them. I pulled up the Stakes, which were about the bigness of my arm; and they had been cut sharp at the ends with a Hatchet, or some other good iron Tool, and driven in as it were with the head of it. They were distant about a Stone's throw from the water-side. I could not conceive to what purpose they should be there set, unless it were for some mark for Boats. This did augment my desire to speak with the Salvages; for without doubt they could have given notice of some Christians, with whom they had some commerce. About four in the Evening I returned aboard, with a Boat's lading of Wood, and the Wind something favouring we weighed; with our Lead seeking out a Channel amongst these perilous Shoalds. In the Evening, the Wind opposing itself, we came to anchor betwixt *Charlton* Island, and that Island we named last year, in memory of that honorable gentleman, *Mr. Thomas Carie*, (one

of the bed chamber of the king,) *Carie's* Island, where we rid all Night.

The 3d, at break of day, we weighed with a bare Wind, and sounding up and down for a Channel, we were many times in five and four fathom water. The Wind larging upon us, we stood away West: By Noon we saw all Ice to the Northward of us; endeavouring therefore to compass about the western point of *Charlton* Island, and so to seek to the Southward, we found it all Shoalds, Rocks, and Breaches. By four in the Afternoon, we saw the Western Land, but all full of Ice. Whereupon as the Wind favoured us, we stood along it in sight to the Northward.

Now to avoid telling the same thing twenty times, we were continually, till the 22d, so pestered and tormented with Ice, that it would seem incredible to relate it. Sometimes we were so blinded with Fog, that we could not see about us; and being now become wilful in our endeavours, we should so strike against the Ice, that the fore part of the Ship would crack again, and make our Cook and others to run up all amazed, and think the Ship had been beaten all to pieces. Indeed we did hourly strike such unavoidable blows, that we did leave the Hatches open: and twenty times in a day the men would run down into the Hold, to see if she were bulged.

Sometimes when we had made her fast in the Night, to a great piece of Ice, we should have such violent Storms, that our fastening would break, and then the Storm would beat us from piece to piece most fearfully. Otherwhile we should be fast inclosed among great Ice as high as our poop. This was made, as I have formerly said, by one piece running upon another, which made it draw eight or ten fathoms water. Besides which, the lowermost would rise from underneath, and strike us under the bulge, with pieces of five, six, yea of eight Tun, that many times we have pumped clear water for an hour together, before we could make the pump suck. Amongst these several and hourly Dangers, I overheard the men murmur, and say, that *They were happy, that I had buried; and that if they had a thousand pound they would give it, so they lay fairly by them; for we* (say they) *are destined to starve upon a piece of Ice.* I was fain to endure all this with Patience, and to comfort them up again, when I had them in a better humour.

The 22d, having been vext with a Storm all last Night, and this Morning with a thick Fog, we drove in thirteen fathom Water. About Noon it cleared, and we saw Land, and at the instant had a good Observation, whereby we knew it to be Cape *Henrietta Maria.* I made the Master stand in with it, and in the mean time we fitted a Cross, and fastened the King's arms, and the arms of the

city of *Bristol* to it. We came to an anchor within a mile of the Shore, in six fathom water; so we hoisted out the Boat, and took our Arms and our Dogs, and went ashore. Upon the most eminent place we erected the Cross; and then seeking about, we saw some Deer, and by and by, more and more. We stole to them with the best skill we had, and then put our Dogs on them, but the Deer ran clear away from them at their pleasure. We tired the Dogs and wearied ourselves, but to no purpose, neither could we come to shoot at them. I saw in all about a dozen (old and young) very goodly Beasts. We took half a dozen young Geese on the Pools, by wading into them; and so returned to our Boat next, that now we had found a place where there was refreshing, and we could get none of it. Whereas therefore, we had kept our Dogs with a great deal of inconvenience aboard the Ship all the Winter, and had pardoned them many Misdemeanors (for they would steal our meat out of the steeping tubs) in hope they might hereafter do us some Service; and seeing they now did not, and that there was no hope they could hereafter, I caused them to be left ashore. They were a Dog and a Bitch; Buck dogs of a very good race. The Dog had a collar about his neck, which it may be hereafter may come to light. I did see no sign at all of any Salvages, nor could we find any Herbs or other refreshing here.

In the Evening, being returned aboard, and the Wind blowing fair at South, I caused the Master to weigh, and come to sail, and to lose no time, for we did hope for an open Sea to the N. W. This Cape hath a very shoald Point, that lies off it, which we endeavoured to compass about.

Sailing therefore amongst shattered Ice, we came to very shoald water, four and five fathom deep, and could not avoid it. At length standing N. the water deepened, but we came amongst great pieces of Ice; which by reason of some open water, there went a pretty Sea. These hard pieces of ice made a most fearful noise. It proved a fair moon shine Night, otherwise it had gone ill with us. We turned amongst this Ice, staying the Ship sometimes within her length of great pieces, as bad as Rocks; but by reason we were often forced to bear up, we did sag upon the main rand of the Ice; and that we thought would be worse for us, we let fall an anchor, and stood all on the decks to watch the Ice's sheering off the Ship (to and again) to avoid it. Thus having Poles and Oars to fend it, we could not keep ourselves so clear, but many pieces came foul of us. We brake two of our great Poles with it, which were made to be handled by four men; besides some other damages. At break of day we weighed, and sought all ways to clear ourselves of Ice, but it was impossible.

I conceive it impertinent to relate every particular

day's Passages, which was much a like to us. Our endeavours were sometimes with our Sails, giving and receiving 500 fearful blows in a day. Sometimes we would stop at an anchor, when we could get a little open water, and so suffer the Ice to drive to leeward; other whiles we should be enclosed amongst it, and then it would so break, and rise, and leap up under us, that we expected to be beaten every hour to pieces. Moreover, we should have such Storms in the dark Nights, that would break the Mooring we had made fast to some piece of Ice for security in the Night season; and then we should beat most dangerously from piece to piece till day light, that we could see to make her fast again. I forbear to speak of thick Fogs which we had daily, which did freeze our Rigging day and night. Besides all which, we should come into most uncertain depths, sometimes twenty fathoms, next Cast ten, next fifteen, then nine, rocky foul ground. The great deep Ice, withal, driving on these uncertain Depths, did so distract the Tides, and deceive us so much in our accounts: that by the 30th, we were driven back so far to the eastward, and to the southward of the Cape, that at five a clock in the Evening it bare N. W. of us, some three leagues off, contrary to our expectations. With all these mischiefs our Ship is now become very leaky, and that we must pump every half watch.

Here I called a Consultation; and after consideration of all our Experience, we were all of the same Opinion, That it was impossible to get to the Northward or to the Eastward, by reason of the Ice. Wherefore I resolved upon this Course: when the Wind blew south, it would blow the Ice off the South shore, then we would seek to get to the Westward, betwixt it and the Shore. I must confess this was a desperate Resolution, for all the Coast, we knew to be should and foul ground, all Rocks and Stones; so that if the Wind should shift to the Northward, there would be (without God's mercies) little hope of us. But here we must not stay. The Nights grew long. The Cold so increased, that betwixt the pieces of Ice, the Sea would be frozen. I caused the Ship to be fitted, and places convenient again prepared, to sink her the second time; if so be we were put to extremities... The Wind increasing, we endured a most dangerous dark Night of it. In the Morning, we fell to work to get the Ship again out of the Ice into some clear Water, which we saw West by South of us. Some of our Company went out upon the Ice, to heave her with their shoulders, whilst others stood aboard with Poles; the rest stood to spill and fill the Sail. By nine in the Morning, we had gotten into some clear water, and stood West and by South, and into four fathom water foul Ground. But being not able to weather some rands of Ice, which did drive,

we were fain to stand off again ; and when the Evening grew dark, to come to an anchor.

About Midnight there came a great piece of Ice, which we could not avoid, athwart of our Cable, and made the Ship drive and drag her anchor. This drove her into Shoald Water, it being very rocky and foul Ground. We brought the Cable to Capstan, and heaved with such a courage, that we heaved home our anchor from under it. Thus we did endeavour, the best we could, to keep ourselves in eight and ten fathom water. It then pleased God, that the Wind blew along the Shore, otherwise it had gone far worse with us. . .

August. . . The 2d, in the Morning, we were glad of the break of day ; having most dangerously turned amongst the Ice all night, and endured many a heavy blow. We stood in again to the Shoreward, to see if we could get some clear water; for to the Northward it was all impassable Ice. We stood into five and four fathom, but still all incompast with Ice. So we stood off again into deeper water, and in the Evening we were inclosed amongst extraordinary great pieces. It was a very thick Fog withal ; so that we made fast the Ship to a great flat piece, and went to sleep and refresh ourselves after our extreme pains-taking. . . God think on us, and be merciful unto us amongst all these Dangers.

The 5th, at Noon, we were in latitude 55° 30′,

the Cape bearing off us S. E. by E. some twelve leagues off; and this is all we have gotten since the 22d of July. All Night it blew a violent Gale of Wind at W. N. W. and about Midnight our Hawser, which we had made fast to a piece of Ice, broke, and we lost fourteen fathom of it. We beat all Night most fearfully.

The 7th, was the most comfortable Day we had since we came out of our Wintering Place. The Wind came up fair at East; and we got (a'though with our former Inconveniencies and Dangers) nearer to the Shore, and into some open water, making good way to the Westward. Moreover, our Leak now stopt of its own accord, so that now we pumpt but little. .

At Noon, (of the 8th of *August*) we were in latitude 55° 31′. In the Evening a range of Ice drove upon us, which made us weigh and stand in nearer the Shore, into six fathom, and there to come to an anchor. The Wind increasing about Midnight, the Ship did drive, and was quickly in five fathom water: wherefore we let fall our Shoot-Anchor, and both held her.—But that that troubled us was, that we expected every minute, when the main Ice would come upon us, and then there would be no hope but to be put ashore. .

This Morning (*August* the 9th.) I caused all our empty Cask to be filled with water, and the Ship to be left unpumpt, and the places hookt to

that we had prepared to sink her; for we were at present in as apparent danger as any time this Voyage; and, to our great griefs, it was all foul rocky ground. The danger of this was, if we made fast to a piece of Ice that drew deep water, then as soon as it came to ground on these Rocks, it would break all to pieces, and betray us to our destruction. About Noon there came foul of us, the point of a range of Ice, which we resolved to endure the extremity of with an anchor, thinking to ride and break through it; we now perceiving some open water beyond it: thrusting therefore, and fending with our Poles, at last a great piece came thwart our hawser, and there went a pretty Sea amongst it. The Ship did now fall upon it so violently, that I expected every blow she would beat out her Bows. At length she did drive with it, so that I thought the Cable had been broken. We brought it to Capstan to heave it in, but found that our Shoot-Anchor was broken in the middle of the shank. We presently set our Sails thereupon, endeavouring that way to edge in amongst the Ice, off of this perilous Shore. It pleased God to favour our Labour so, that by eight in the Evening we got off into seven fathom; and a dark Night coming on, we made fast to the biggest piece we could find.

By break of day, on the 10th, we were driven into four fathom, very foul ground. Some of us

went upon the Ice to hale her; others stood with Poles to thrust by Night. At Night we had gotten off into eight fathom, and made fast to the biggest piece we could find. If any man should ask why we now kept so near to the Shore, in this continual danger? I answer, Because that in the Offing the Ice was so extraordinary thick, that we could make no way, any way through it. Moreover, when we were in that great thick Ice, and that the Wind came up fair at S. or S. E. or E. we could not get out of it. Wherefore we chose to run this Adventure, and so prevent and overcome all Dangers with God's assistance, and our extreme labour.

From the 11th, till the 14th, the Wind continued fair, and we made all the sail we could (Night and Day) as the Ice would suffer us. We had the Shore in sight by day on one side, and the Ice within two miles on the other; and we sailed amongst disperst pieces, luffing for one, and bearing up for another. The 14th, at Noon we were in latitude 57° 55′. In the Evening we were imbayed in Ice, and stood S. W. to clear ourselves of it, but could not. But seeing from Top-mast head clear water over it, we put into it: but there rose a very thick Fog, and Night came on withal, that we were fain to fasten to a piece of Ice, expecting day and better weather.

The 15th, in the Morning, although the Fog was very thick, we endeavoured to get out of the

Ice, and stood away West: but, within two hours, the water shoalded from forty fathom to twenty-five; whereby we knew that we had the shoalding of the Western shore. Then we shaped our Course to the Northward; the Fog continued so thick, that we could not see a pistol-shot about us. We had not stood this way two hours, but we heard the rut of the Ice a head of us, which made the most hideous noise of any we had heard this Voyage. We hailed our Tacks aboard, and stood to the Westward in this day; hearing of it sometimes, and sometimes seeing of it, which was very large, deep and high Ice above the water. We weathered it all, except some few pieces, and got into open water. About Sun-set there came a sudden gust N. N. W. and before we could handle our Sails, it was with us, and put us to some trouble. It dallied with us by gusts till nine a clock, and then it fell into a most violent Storm. We considered where we might have the clearest drift, and so took in all, and let her drive her head to the shoreward. Before Midnight the water shoalded on us to fifteen fathom. Then we turned her head to the Eastward, and set our Main course low set, but as much as she could indure. The water deepened but little, and we knew that we were on those rocky Shoalds which we struck on the last year. God be merciful to us! Here was the first great breaking Sea that we had this year.

The 17th, in the Morning, when we could see about us, we were in the midst of the Ice; but with the last Storm it was all broken into mammocks, as big as a Boat of three or four tons, which did give us many a heavy blow in the dark Night. If this Storm had taken us amongst it, it had beaten us all to pieces, without God's miraculous preservation. We made sail and endeavoured to clear ourselves of it to the Northward, which by eight in the Morning we had done.

We then went to Prayer, and gave God thanks that had delivered us out of it. For we were hourly, for the space of six weeks, as it were in the jaws of Death. Yea, never any (that I have heard of) have been so long, in such long Nights, upon a foul shoald Shore, tormented with * Ice, as we have now been. At Noon, we were in latitude 58° 20′. The 22d, we fell with the Land to the Westward of *Carie's Swan's Nest*, where we had forty fathom three leagues off. We stood in within a league of the Shore, into thirteen fathom; and seeing the Land to the Southward of us, we compast about it, it being *Carie's Swan's Nest*, which is in latitude 52°.

* Captain *James* here observes, "I have in *July*, and in the beginning of *August*, taken some of the Ice into the Ship, and cut it square two foot, and put it into the Boat, where the Sun did shine on it with a very strong reflex about it: And notwithstanding the warmth of the Ship, for we kept a good Fire, and all our breathings and motions, it would not melt in eight or ten days."

The 24th, at Noon (by judgement) we were in Latitude 63° 30′ having sailed a N. E. Course. All this day was a very thick Fog, which about one a clock cleared a little, so that I expected to see the Land. Some of our men being better sighted, spied it out about some two leagues off from us. I knew it could be no other than *Nottingham Island*, though it were something contrary to the expectation of our best Mariners. We stood into it to make it... We made what sail we could, it blowing a very stiff Gale of Wind until eight in the Evening; then it began to blow fiercely, and we took in our Top-sails, and stood under our two Courses and Bonnets. At nine, it blew a violent Storm at S. S. E. so that we took in our Fore-sail, and let her drive N. W. All the Night it continued an extraordinary Storm, so that we heaved the Lead every half watch; but the Ship did drive so fast, that she would be past the Lead before there was twenty fathom of line out, all the Night being exceeding cold withal.

The 25th, the Storm continued in his utmost malice, and did so perplex us, that there were but few that did sleep or eat a bit these 24 hours. About six a clock in the Afternoon the Storm began to slacken, yet blew there a fierce Gale of Wind betwixt the South, and South West. We stood W. N. W. and made a N. W. way, when suddenly the Sea became very smooth. We reasoned there-

upon amongst ourselves, what might be the cause of it. We all thought it to be the leeward Tide, nothing doubting what afterwards we encountered. The Ship had very quick way in this smooth Water.

The 26th, by two a clock in the Morning, we were suddenly come in amongst the Ice; and it pleased God, that the Moon, at the instant, gave us so much light, that we could see a little about us. We would have staid the Ship, but it was so thick to windward, and so near us, that we durst not. We then bore up in this unexpected accident; and (I verily believe) did not escape striking the length of a foot, against the Ice as hard as Rocks, two or three times; the Ship now having way, after twelve leagues a Watch. Then we stood close by a wind to the Eastward, expecting day, that we might see about us: We could from Top-mast-head see the Ice to N. N. W. the N. W. and so round about, by the S. to the E. and some there was to leeward of us. It was all flat sound Ice, in main rands, and the Sea as smooth as a well amongst it. This struck us all into a Dump: whereupon, I called a consultation of my Associates; namely, *Arthur Price* Master, *William Clemens* Lieutenant, *John Whittered* Master's Mate, *Nathaniel Bilson* Chirurgeon, and *John Palmer* Boatswain, requiring them to advise and counsel me, how to prosecute our business to effect. These all went together, and

reasoned amongst themselves, and then brought me their Opinions in writing under their hands: *viz. Our Advice is, That you repair homeward from this present 26th, and that for these* * *Reasons.* . . .

VII. Indeed most of these Reasons were in view, and I could not tell what to say to oppose them; nor any reason could I give, how we might proceed farther. Wherefore (with a sorrowful heart, God knows) I consented that the Helm should be borne up, and a Course shaped for *England.* Well hoping, that his Majesty would graciously censure of my Endeavours, and pardon my Return. And although we have not discovered populous Kingdoms, and taken special notice of their Magnificence, Power and Policies; brought samples home of their Riches and Commodities; pried into the mysteries of their Trades and Traffic; nor made any great fight against the Enemies of God and our Nation; yet I wish our Willingness in these Desart Parts may be acceptable to our readers.—When we bore up Helm, we were in Latitude 65° 30′ at least N. W. and by N. from *Nottingham Island.* Some were of an opinion, that we were farther to the Northward; but by reason it was by judgement, I chose to set down the lesser distance.

* These Reasons, which amount to seven, chiefly relate to the advanced Season of the Year, and the shattered state of the Ship, and its Seamen.

The 27th, the Wind came up at N. W. with which Wind we could not have gone on in our Design: That Wind made no great swelling Sea. By Noon we were athwart of *Cape Charles;* so that we went in betwixt that Cape and *Mill Islands.* The last Night it did snow very much, and was very cold, so that all our Rigging and Sails were frozen, and all the Land covered over with Snow. . . Generally we continued on our Course, blinded with foggy and dirty Weather; and that, intermixt with Snow and Frost, amongst disperst pieces of Ice, many of them higher than our Top-mast head.

With great variety of Winds, we were also driven within three leagues of both Shores; so that the last of this Month, we were in the narrow of the Straight, which is about fifteen leagues over; the South Shore was much pestered with Ice.

September.—The 1st, and 2d, we continued our endeavour to get on our way. The 3d, in the Evening, as the Weather cleared up, we did see the South end of the *Island of Resolution.* These three Days and Nights had been extreme cold with Fog and Frost, insomuch that our men in the Evening could hardly take in our Top-sails and Spreet-sail. We have sailed thorow much mountainous Ice, far higher than our Top-most-head: but this day we sailed by the highest that I ever yet saw, which was incredible indeed to be related.

Now as the Wind comes Easterly, we feel another Sea out of the Ocean, and the Ship labours with another motion, than she hath done with any that ever we observed to come out of the Westward.

From the 3d, to the 8th, we had variety of Winds, and were gotten clear out of the Streights, but were now come into such a tumbling Sea (the Weather dirty and gusty, and by interims calm again) that the Ship did so labour and rowl, that we thought verily she would have rowled her Masts by the board. This made her so leaky, that we were fain to pump every Glass; yea, her Seams did so open aloft, we lay all wet in her.

This was the last day that we saw any Ice. The Wind now favouring us, we made all the haste we could homeward. By the way (having endeavoured, observed, and experimented some things in my unfortunate Voyage) I perfected up my said *Observations; which being after commanded to publish, I here most submissively offer unto the judicious Readers; and raine our private opinion withal, concerning the feiseableness of the action intended, which was to find *A Passage into the South Sea*. . .

The 22d of *October*, we arrived in the road of *Bristol*, having been hindred and crost with much contrary tempestuous Winds and Weather. The Ship being brought into Harbour, and haled dry a ground to look to her, it was there found; That

* See *Appendix*.

all her Cut water and Stern, were torn and beaten away, together with fourteen foot of her Keel; much of her Sheathing cut away, her Bows broken and bruised, and many timbers crackt within board; and under the Starboard Bulge, a sharp Rock had cut thorow the Sheathing, the Plank, and an inch and a half into a Timber that it met withal. Many other defects there were besides, so that it was miraculous how this Vessel could bring us home again. Being all here arrived, we went all to Church, and gave God thanks for his Preservation of us amidst so many Dangers.

I very well know that what I have here hastily written, will never discourage any noble Spirit, that is minded to bring this so long tried Action to absolute effect; and it is likely withal, that there be some, who have a better understanding, and a surer way of prosecuting of it, than myself have: To whose designs I wish a happy success. And if they do but make a Review of what hath been done, and give more certain Celestial Observations, Hydrographical Descriptions, or exacter Practice in Navigation, it will be a most commendable Labour. For although I have spent some years of my ripest Age, in procuring vain intelligence from foreign Nations; and have travelled unto divers honourable and learned Personages of this Kingdom, for their Instructions; have bought up whatever I could in Print or Manuscript, and what Plot or Paper

soever conducing to this business, that possibly I could procure; and have served voluntarily besides, and spent some time in rendering a relation (since my coming home) and expended withal of my own monies, in my aforesaid endeavours, and in furnishing of extraordinary necessaries, above £.200 in ready money; Yet I repent not myself, but take a great deal of Comfort and Joy, in that I am able to give an account (in some reasonable way) of those parts of the World, which heretofore I was not so well * satisfied in.

* This, in the Original, is succeeded (1.) by "The Copy of the Letter which I left at *Charlton* fastened to the Cross, July 1, 1632. (2.) The names of the several Instruments, I provided and bought for this Voyage. (3.) An Appendix touching Longitude, by *H. Gellibrand*. (4.) To the Venerable Artists and younger Students in Divinity, in the famous University of Cambridge, by X. Z."

CHAPTER VI.

A true and short Account of Forty-two Persons, the greater Part of whom perished by Shipwreck, near Spitzbergen, in the Year 1646.

(Churchill's Collection, Vol. ii. Page 381.)

JOHN CORNELIUS of *Muniken*, being ordered to *Spitzbergen*, to catch Whales, he set sail from the *Texel* in a Galliot, the 6th of *May*, 1646, and arrived the 3d of *June* following near *Spitzbergen*, with an intention to anchor in the Bay; but was by the vast floats of Ice Shoals forced to keep out at Sea. After having in vain cruized up and down among the Ice Shoals, they got into the Bay; but perceiving two Whales farther at Sea, they sent out their Sloop in pursuit of the Whales.

Whilst they were rowing up and down to watch the motion of these Creatures, they discovered at a distance a great Ice Shoal, with something white upon it; which at first sight they imagined to be Bears, they being generally white here. But one *Ellert Johnson;* who was in the Sloop to manage

the Harpcock, or Iron, wherewith they strike the Whale; judging by the motion that it was something else, persuaded them to row that way: which being done accordingly, they not long after perceived the same to be a piece of a Rope belonging to the Sails of a Ship, which was held up by a Man as a Signal of their utmost Distress. So they rowed up to it with all the Oars they had; and coming near them, found, to their great Surprize, four living men, and one dead one (all *Englishmen*) upon the Ice Shoals: who upon their bended knees expressed their Joy and Thankfulness, for so unexpected a deliverance from the Jaws of Death. They were taken into the Sloop, and carried into the Bay aboard the Ship.

They had cut a great Hole, in the nature of a subterraneous Cave, into the Ice; and round the entrance thereof had placed the pieces of Ice that were cut out of the concavity, to defend themselves against the violence of the Winds and Waves. In this Hole they had spent fourteen days; it being so long since they had lost their Ship.

At first there were in all Forty-two of them, and they had saved some Victuals and Tools with their Sloop. The Commander perceiving, after a little while, that it was impossible for them to hold out long upon the Ice Shoal; resolved to go ashore in the Sloop, with seventeen of his Men, if he could,

and to send them word afterwards, how matters stood there. This was done accordingly: but it blowing very hard, and they having not heard the least tidings of them since, they were afraid that they were drowned before they reached the Shore.

There were then Twenty-four left upon the Ice Shoal, but the want of Provisions encreasing daily among them; and they being reduced to a starving condition, and expecting nothing but present Death; resolved to divide themselves, and to get upon several other Ice Shoals; in hopes by some chance or other, to come near to the Shore. But whether some of them got ashore, or whether they were taken up by some Ship or other, or whether they were swallowed up by the merciless Waves, they were not able to tell.

Certain it is, that we found four of them, the miserable remnants of Forty-two, sitting together upon this Ice Shoal, overwhelmed with Affliction; without any hopes of being saved, from the last extremity they were reduced to, by Frost and Hunger, before we came in full sight of them with our Sloop: Having had nothing to feed upon for some time, but a leather Belt (belonging to one of them) which they had divided and eat, share and share alike, till all was consumed.

After they were brought to our Ship, our Surgeon took all imaginable care for their Recovery;

notwit' standing which, three of them died in a few days after. So that of Forty-two wherewith their Ship was manned, no more than one escaped with life: who arriving in *September*, 1646, in the Galliot the *Delft* upon the *Meuse*, from thence returned to his Native Country in *England*.

CHAPTER VII.

The Perilous Voyage of Captain NORWOOD, *an Officer in the Army of* CHARLES THE FIRST. *With an Account of the Sufferings, which that Officer, and his Companions endured, when left on a Desert Island, belonging to the* KICKOTANK *North American Indians*, 1649—1650.

(Churchill's Collection, Vol. vi.)

THE Month of *August*, Anno 1649, being the time I engaged to meet my two Comrades, Major *Francis Morrison*, and Major *Richard Fox*, at *London*, in order to a full accomplishment of our purpose to seek our Fortunes in *Virginia* (pursuant to our agreement the Year before in *Holland*) All Parties very punctually appeared at the time and place assigned; and were all still in the same mind, fully bent to put in practice what we had so solemnly agreed upon. Our Inclinations that way being nothing abated, but were rather quickened, by the new changes that we saw in the state of things, and that very much for the worse. For if our Spirits were somewhat depressed in contem-

plation of a barbarous restraint upon the person of our King, in the *Isle of Wight;* to what Horrors, and Despairs, must our minds be reduced at the bloody and bitter stroke of his Assassination, at his Palace of *Whitehall?*

This unparalleled Butchery made the Rebels cast away the Scabbards of their Swords with both their hands; in full resolution never to let them meet again, either by Submission or Capitulation. So that the sad prospect of Affairs in this juncture, gave such a damp to all the Royal Party, who had resolved to persevere in the principle, which engaged them in the War; that a very considerable number of Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry, so circumstanced, did fly from their Native Country, as from a place infected with the Plague; and did betake themselves to travel any where, to shun so hot a Contagion. There being no Point on the Compass, that would not suit with some of our tempers and circumstances, for transportation into foreign Lands.

Of the number who chose to steer their course for *America;* such of them as inclined to try their fortunes at *Surinam*, *Barbadoes*, *Antigua*, and the *Leeward Islands*, were to be men of the first rate, who wanted not money, nor credit, to balance the expence necessary to the carrying on the Sugar Works: And this consideration alone was enough to determine our choice for *Virginia*, had we wanted other arguments to engage us in the Voyage.

The honour I had, of being nearly related to Sir *William Barkeley* the Governor, was no small incitation to encourage me with a little stock to this Adventure. Major *Morrison* had the King's commission to be Captain of the Fort; and Mr. *Fox* was to share in our good, or bad success: But my best Cargaroon was his Majesty's gracious letter in my favour, which took effect beyond my expectation; because it recommended me (above whatever I had or could deserve) to the Governor's particular Care.

I. To proceed then, without any further Exordium, to the subject of this Narrative. It fell out to be about the first day of *September*, *Anno* 1649, that we grew acquainted on the Royal Exchange with Captain *John Locker;* whose bills upon the posts made us know he was Master of a good Ship (untruly so called,) *The Virginia Merchant;* burden 300 tons, of force 30 Guns or more. We were not long in treaty with the Captain, but agreed with him for ourselves and servants, at six pounds a head, to be transported into *James River:* our Goods to be paid for at the current price.

About the fifteenth day, we were ordered to meet the Ship at *Gravesend*, where the Captain was to clear with his Merchants, and we to make our several Payments. Which when we had performed, we staid not for the Ship, but took post for the *Downs;* where, with some impatience, we expected

her coming there. About the sixteenth *ditto*, we could see the whole Fleet under Sail, with a South west Wind; which having brought them to that Road, kept them there at anchor, until our money was almost spent at *Deal*.

September 23, the Wind veered to the East, and we were summoned by signs and guns, to repair on board. We had a fresh large Gale three days, which cleared us of the Channel, and put us out of Soundings. With this propitious beginning, we pursued our Course for about twenty days, desiring to make the Western Islands: at which time the Cooper began to complain, that our Water Cask was almost empty; alledging, that there was not enough in Hold, for our great Family (about 330 Souls) to serve a Month.

Our early want of Water gave the Master an Alarm, and an occasion to consult with his Officers for a remedy to so important an Evil, as that might be, if not timely helped. We were now, by all accounts, very near the Western Islands: *Fyal* was that we were likely first to see, and our Captain resolved to touch there to supply this defect, as the most commodious Port for our purpose: And this was good news to the Passengers, who are always glad at sight of Land.

The day break of *October* 14, shewed us the Peek of that Island; the highest and most conspicuous Land of any I have heard the Seamen men-

tion for Land marks, except that of *Teneriff*. As soon as we had saluted the Castle, and returned thanks for being civilly answered, Captain *John Tatam*, our Countryman, did the same from aboard his goodly Ship the *John*. The English Merchants from the Town came soon on board our Ship, and gave us a very civil welcome. Of them, one Mr. *Andrews* invited me, with my two Comrades, to refresh ourselves with Fruit, and Meat, such as the Island produced. Our Captain dined with us at his House, and so did Captain *Tatam*, who in like courteous manner engaged us all to dine on board his Ship the next day. We visited the Peach trees for our Desert, of which I took at least a double share; and did not fail to visit and revisit them in the dead of Night, to satisfy a ravenous appetite, Nature has too prodigally given me for that Species.

A little before the time of dinner, Captain *Tatam* had sent his Boats to bring us on board his Ship; and it was well for us he did so, our Ship's Long Boat having been staved in pieces the Night before, by the Seamen's neglect. Who had all tasted so liberally of new Wine, by the commodiousness of the Vintage, that they lay up and down dead drunk in all quarters, in a sad pickle.

The loss of our Long Boat, as it was likely to make our Watering tedious, and chargeable to the Owners; so did it expose us to the hazard of many

Inconveniencies and Perils, in the whole course of our Voyage. Wherein frequent occasions occur, that render that Boat necessary to preserve the whole fabrick and lives of the Ship and Company: but to this breach no other reparation was applicable, but by recourse to that great stock of Patience, we were to be furnished withal, for our support in the mighty Straights we must encounter, before we come to safe Port.

Our Captain led the van into *Tatam's* Boat, which brought us safe on board the *John*. At our arrival we were welcomed with a whole tyre of Guns, and with a very kind aspect in the Captain. He gave us excellent Wines to drink before Dinner, and at our meat as good of other sorts for concoction. There was a handsome plenty of Fish and Fowl, several ways cooked, to relish the *Portugueses's* and the *English* Palates. . .

The healths of the two Kings were passing about with thundering peals of Cannon: To conclude this rare Treat, the approaching Night made us take leave sooner, than our Inclinations would have led us ashore, the Merchants having told us, there was no safe walking the Streets in the Night, for fear the *Pycaroes* (a sort of land Pyrates) should snatch away our hats, and looser garments, as they use to treat Strangers. Whilst we were caressed in this manner on Shipboard, the Seamen on Shore continued in their Debauchery, with very little ad-

vance of our dispatch: the getting Water was so tedious in itself, for lack of our Boat, and so full of delays, by drunken contests of ours with the Islanders, and with themselves; that after some days stay upon the Island, when our Captain resolved to sail away, he found the Ship in worse condition for liquors, than when we came on shore. For if we got a new supply of Water, the proportion was hardly enough to balance the expense of Beer, that was spent in the time we got it.

Some days before we parted, we saw the *John* under sail, bound for *Lisbon*. Where the Captain no sooner arrived, and discharged his Ship, but he listed himself as a man of war in a Squadron of Ships then there, under the command of the Prince *Rupert:* which I mention for his honour, because I have heard the Prince acknowledge in his favour, that he did his duty very well, when there was like to be an occasion of trying his valour.

It was about the 22d of *October*, that we took leave of our Landlord and *Fyal*. We had store of black Pigs for fresh meat, and I carried Peaches without number. We parted with an Easterly Wind a topsail gate, which soon brought us into a Trade Wind that favoured us at fifty or sixty leagues in twenty-four hours, till we came to the height of *Bermudas*. In that Latitude it is the general observation of Seamen, that the Seas are rough, and the weather Stormy. It was my fortune to

have a curiosity to look out, when the Officer on the Watch shewed me a more than ordinary agitation of the Sea, in one particular place above the rest: which was the effect of what they call a Spout, a raging in the bowels of the Sea, striving to break out; and at last springs up like a Mine at Land, with weight and force enough to have hoisted our Ship out of her proper element, into the Air (had the Helm been for it) and to have made her do the Supersalt. But God's Providence secured us from that danger.

The sight of the Island was welcome to all. The Mariners learned thereby our true distance from Cape *Hatteras;* and the Passengers were relieved with hopes to be soon at Shore from a hungry pestered Ship and Company. The Gale continued fair till *November* 8th. Then we observed the water changed; and heaving the Lead, we had thirty-five fathom of Water which was joyful news. Our want of all things necessary for human life, made it so.

Towards break of Day, weary of my lodging, I visited Mate *Putts* on the Watch; and would have treated him with Brandy, but he refused that offer, unless I could also give him Tobacco, which I had not. He said, it was near break of Day, and he would look out, to see what change there was in the Water. No sooner were his feet upon the Deck, but with stamps and noise he calls up the

Seamen, crying out, *All hands aloft! Breaches, Breaches on both Sides! All hands aloft!*

The Seamen were soon on Deck with this dismal alarm, and saw the Cause thereof; but instead of applying their hands for their preservation, (through a general despondency) they fell on their knees, commending their Souls as at the last gasp. The Captain came out at the noise to rectify what was amiss; but seeing how the case stood, his courage failed. Mate *Putts* (a stout Seaman) took heart again, and cried out, *Is there no good fellow that will stand to the Helm and loose a Sail?* But of all the Ship's Crew, there were but two foremast men, that would be perswaded to obey commands; namely, *Thomas Reaisin*, and *John Smith;* men of innate Courage, who, for their good resolution, on that and divers other occasions in the various traverses of this Voyage, deserve to have their names kept in lasting remembrance.

One of them got up and loosed the Fore top-sail, to put the Ship (if possible) in steerage way, and under command. The other stood to the Helm, and he shifted it in a nick of time; for the Ship was at the point of dashing on the starboard Breach: and although, in the rest of the Voyage, she was wont to be blamed for the ill quality of not feeling the Helm, she did in this important instance, redeem her credit, and fell round off for our rescue from

that danger. But the sense of this Escape lasted but a moment; for no sooner was she fallen from that Breach, but another on the larboard bow was ready to receive her. The Ship's Crew, by this time (reproached by the courage of *Reaisin* and *Smith)* were all at work; and the Helm shifting opportunely, she fell off again as before. The light of the Day (which now broke forth) did discover our Condition to be altogether as perillous as possible; for we now saw ourselves surrounded with Breaches. Scarce any water, like a Channel, appeared for a way to shun them. In this sad Condition the Ship struck ground, and raised such a war of Water, and Sand together, which fell on the Main chains, that now all hopes of safety were laid aside: but the Ship being still afloat, and the Seamen all of them now under command, nothing was omitted for our preservation that was in their power.

Tom Reaisin, seeing the Ship go a-head, in the likeliest water for a Channel, and ordering the Helm accordingly, heaved the Lead; and after a little further advance into that new Channel, wholly against his hopes, he had a good deal of water more than the Ship drew, which soon mended upon us; the next cast of the Lead affording eighteen or twenty foot. We stood to this Channel, and the light of the Morning enabling the Quarter masters

to con the Ship, we were by this miraculous mercy of God, soon clear of the Breaches at *Cape Hatteras*, and got out to Sea.

No sooner was the Ship freed of this Danger, and gotten a little into the Offing; but the Seamen (like so many Spirits) surveyed each other, as if they doubted the reality of the thing, and shook hands like Strangers, or men risen from the other World; and did scarce believe they were, what they seemed to be, men of flesh and blood. As they recovered force, they made what Sail they could to stand to Seaward.

The Gale came fresh at North-west, and this fresh Gale did soon grow up to a violent Storm; which increased to so great a rigour, separating us from the Land at the rate of eight leagues a watch, merely with our fore-courses; insomuch that the Master thought it necessary to stop that career; and, in order thereunto, he did advise with his Officers, to bring the Ship about, to furl all sails, and to try with the Mizzen.

The mountainous, towring, North-west Seas that this Storm made, were so unruly, that the Seamen knew not how to work the Ship about. We were already at a great distance from Land, and something must be done to hinder our running off at that excessive rate. The first thing they did, was to lower the Main Yard, to give some ease to that Mast, by laying it on the Ship's waste. Our great

difficulty was, how to deal so with the Fore sails, that the Ship might work about with safety, or at least with as little hazard as possible. All hands were too little to hale the Sheet close, in order to bring the Ship about. Many great Seas were shipped, as she came to work through the trough of the Sea; amongst the rest one chanced to break upon the Poop (where we were quartered,) and that with so sad a weight, that we guessed a Ton of water (at least) did enter the Tarpaulin, and set us all on float who were in the Round-house. The noise it made by discharging itself in that manner, was like the report of a great Gun, and did put us all into a horrible fright, which we could not soon shake off. This shock being past, the Ship about, and our Fore-sail handled, we now lay trying with our Mizzen.

I cannot forget the prodigious number of Porpoises, that did that Evening appear about the Ship, to the astonishment of the oldest Seaman in her. They seemed to cover the surface of the Sea as far as our eyes could discern; insomuch that a musket bullet, shot at random, could hardly fail to do execution on some of them. This the Seamen would look upon as of bad portent, predicting ill Weather; but in our case, who were in present possession of a Storm, they appeared too late to gain the credit of foretelling, what should come upon us in that kind.

The Seas thus enraged, and all in foam, the Gale still increasing upon us; the Officers on the watch made frequent visits to the Round-house, to prepare the Captain for some evil encounter, which this mighty Tempest must bring forth; and their fears proved reasonable: for, about the hours of ten or eleven, our new Disasters did begin with a Crash from aloft. All hands were summoned up with loud cries, that the Fore Top-mast was come by the board! not alone, but in conjunction with the Fore Mast-head broken short off, just under the Cap.

This was a sore business, and put all to their wits end, to recover to any competent condition. What could be done was done to prevent further mischiefs; but the whole trim and rigging of a Ship depending much upon Stays and Tackle fixed to that Mast, we had reason to expect greater ruins to follow, than what had already befallen us. Mate *Patts* was then on the Watch, and did not want his apprehension of what did soon ensue, which in all likelihood was to end in our utter perdition; for about the hours of twelve or one at Night, a header made such an inundation on the Deck, where the Mate was walking, that he retired back with all diligence up to his knees in water, with short ejaculations of Prayers in his mouth; supposing the Ship was foundering, and at the last

gasp. This looked like a stroke of Death in every Seaman's Opinion. The Ship stood stock still, with her head under water, seeming to bore her way into the Sea. My two Comrades and myself lay on our platform, sharing liberally in the general Consternation. We took a short leave of each other, Men, Women, and Children: All, assaulted with the fresh terror of Death, made a most dolorous outcry throughout the Ship; whilst Mate *Putts* perceiving the Deck almost freed of Water, called out aloud for hands to Pump. This we thought a lightning before Death; but gave me occasion (as having the best Sea legs) to look out, and learn the subject of this astonishing Alarm: which proved to arise from no less cause, than the loss of our Forecastle, with six Guns, and our Anchors (all but one that was fastened to our Cable) together with our two Cooks, whereof one was recovered by a strange providence.

This great gap, made by want of our Forecastle, did open a passage into the Hold for other Seas, that should break there, before a remedy was found out to carry them off; and this made our danger that there were [illegible].But it fell out propitiously, who were very helpful in this distress; and, in a little time, a slight platform of deal was tacked to the Timbers, to carry off any ordinary Sea, in the present Straight we were in: Every moment of this

growing Tempest cutting out new work to employ all hands to labour.

The Bowsprit too top heavy in itself, having lost all Stays and Rigging that should keep it steady, swayed to and fro; with such bangs on the Bows, that at no less rate than the cutting it close off, could the Ship subsist.

All things were in miserable disorder, and it was evident our Danger increased upon us. The Stays of all the Masts were gone, the Shrouds that remained were loose and useless; and it was easy to foretel, our Main Top-mast would soon come by the board. *Tom Reasin* (who was always ready to expose himself) with an Ax in his hand, ran up with speed to prevent that evil; hoping thereby to ease the Main-mast, and preserve it: but the danger of his person in the enterprize, was so manifest, that he was called down amain; and no sooner was his foot upon the deck, but what was feared came to pass with a witness. Both Main and Top-mast all came down together, and, in one shock, fell all to the windward clear into the Sea, without hurt to any man's person.

Our Main-mast thus fallen to the broadside, was like to incommode us more in the Sea, than in her proper station; for the Shrouds and Rigging not losing the hold they had of the Ship, every Surge did so check the Mast (whose but-end lay charged to fall perpendicular on the Ship's side) that it

became a ram to batter and force the plank; and was doing the last execution upon us, if not prevented in time by edge-tools, which freed the Ship from that unexpected assault and battery. Abandoned in this manner to the fury of the raging Sea; tossed up and down without any rigging to keep the Ship steady; our Seamen frequently fell overboard, without any one regarding the loss of another: every man expecting the same fate, though in a different manner. The Ceilings of this Hulk (for it was no better) were for the same cause so uneasy, that, in many tumbles, the Deck would touch the Sea, and there stand still as if she would never make another. Our Mizzen-mast only remained, by which we hoped to bring the Ship about in proper Season, which now lay stemming to the East.

In this posture, did we pass the tenth and eleventh days of *November*. The twelfth, in the Morning, we saw an English Merchant, who shewed his Ensign, but would not speak with us; though the Storm was abated, and the season more fit for communication. We imagined the reason was, because he would not be compelled to be civil to us. He thought our Condition desperate, and we had more Guns than he could resist, which might enable us to take what he would not sell or give. He shot a gun to leeward, stood his Course, and turned his poop upon us.

Before we attempted to bring the Ship about, it was necessary to refresh the Seamen, who were almost worn out with toil, and want of rest: having had no leisure of eating set Meals, for many days. The Passengers overcharged with excessive fears, had no Appetite to eat; and (which was worst of all) both Seamen and Passengers were in a deplorable state as to the remaining Victuals, all like to fall under extreme want. For the Storm by taking away the Forecastle, having thrown much water into the Hold, our stock of Bread (the staff of life) was greatly damnified; and there remained no way to dress our Meat, now that the Cook room was gone: the incessant tumbling of the Ship, as has been observed, made all such cookery wholly impracticable. The only expedient to make fire between Decks, was, by sawing a Cask in the middle, and filling it with ballast; which made a hearth to parch Pease, and boil salt Beef. Nor could this be done, but with great attendance; which was many times frustrated by being thrown topsy-turvy in spite of all circumspection, to the great defeat of empty stomachs.

The Seas were much appeased the seventeenth day, and divers English Ships saw, and were seen by us, but would not speak with us; only one, who kept the Pump always going for having tasted too liberally of the Storm, he was so kind as to accost us. He lay by till our Wherry

(the only surviving Boat that was left us) made him a visit. The Master shewed our men his Leaks, and proposed, that ours would spare him hands to pump, in lieu of any thing he could spare for our relief. He promised however to keep us Company, and give us a tow to help to weather the Cape, if occasion offered. But that was only a copy of his Countenance; for in the Night we lost each other, and we never heard more of him, though he was bound to our Port.

Nov. 13.—The Weather now invited us to get the Ship about with our Mizzen; and having done so, the next Consideration was, how to make sail. The Foremast, all this while (as much as was of it) stood its ground; and as it was without dispute, that a Yard must in the first place be fixed to it: so was it a matter of no small difficulty, how to advance to the top of that greasy, slippery Stump: Since he that would attempt it, could take no hold himself, nor receive any help for his rise, by other hands.

This was a case that put all the Ship's Crew to a nonplus. But *Tom Reaisin* (a constant Friend at need, that would not be baffled by any difficulty) shewed by his countenance, he had a mind to try his skill to bring us out of this unhappy Crisis. To encourage him the more, all Passengers did promise and subscribe to reward his Service, in *Virginia*, by Tobacco, when God should enable us so to do. The proportions being set down, many were the more generous, because they never thought

to see the place of payment; but expected to anticipate that, by the payment of a greater debt to nature, which was like to be exacted every hour, by an arrest of the merciless Sea; which made small shew of taking bail for our appearance in *Virginia*.

The manner of *Tom Reaisin's* ascent to this important work, was thus: Amongst the scattered parcels of the Ship's Stores, he had the luck to find about half a dozen iron Spikes fit for his purpose. His first onset was to drive one of them into the Mast, almost to the head, as high as he could reach; which being done, he took a rope of about ten foot long, and having threaded the same in a block, or pulley, so as to divide it in the middle; he made both ends meet in a knot upon the Spike, on both Sides of the Mast: so that the block, falling on the contrary side, became a stirrup to mount upon for driving another Spike in the same manner: And thus from step to step, observing the best advantage of striking with his hammer in the smoothest Sea, he got aloft, drove cleats for Shrouds, to rest upon; and was soon in a posture of receiving help from his Comrades, who got a Yard and Sails (with other accommodation) such as could be had; and thus were we enabled, in few hours time, to make some sail for our Port. The Main-yard, that in the Storm had been lowered to the Wast, to lie out of harm's way, was now preferred to the place of a Main-mast; and was accordingly fitted and ac-

contred, and grafted into the Stump of what was left in the Storm, some eight or ten foot from the deck. It was a hard matter to find out Rigging answerable to that new-fashioned Mast, and Yard. Top-gallant Sails and Yards were most agreeable to this equipage, and was the best part of our remaining stores. The Seas grew every moment smoother, and the Weather more comfortable; so that for a while we began to shake off the visage of utter Despair, as hoping ere long to see ourselves in some capacity to fetch the Cape. We discovered another Ship bound to *Virginia*, who as frankly promised to stand by us, the Wind at N. N. W. We did what could be done by a Ship so mangled, to get the weather gage of the Cape *Henry*; conceiving ourselves to the Southward of Cape *Hatteras:* but by taking an Observation on a sun-shine day, we found ourselves carried by a Current, we knew not of, to the windward, much beyond all our dead reckonings and allowances for sailing; insomuch that when we thought we had been to the Southward of the Cape, we found ourselves considerably shot to the north of *Achomat;* and that in the opinion of Mate *Putts*, who was as our North Star.

We passed this Night with greater alacrity than we had done any other, since we had left *Fyall;* for Mate *Putts*, our trusty Pilot, did confidently affirm, that if the Gale stood, there would be no

question of our dining the next day within the Capes. This was seasonable News. Our Water being long since spent; our Meat spoiled, or useless; no kind of Victuals remaining to sustain life, but a Biscuit cake a day for a man; at which allowance there was not a quantity to hold out many days. In the dark time of the Night, in tacking about, we lost our new Comrade, and with much impatience we expected the approaching day; the Wind N. W. The Morning appeared foggy, as the Wind veered to the East, and that did cover and conceal the Land from our clearer sight: howbeit we concluded, by Mate *Putts's* computation, we were well to the Northward of the Capes. Many times he would mount the Mizzen top for discovery, as the Weather seemed to clear up; and would espy, and point at certain Hum-works of Trees, that used to be his several Land-marks, in most of the twenty-two Voyages he had made to that plantation. Under this confidence he made more sail; the day-light confirming him in what he thought right.

All the Forenoon we lost the sight of Land, and marks by Trees, by reason of the dark Fogs and Mists that were not yet dispelled: but as soon as the Sun, with a North-west gale, had cleared all the Coast (which was about the hours of two or three o'clock) Mate *Putts* perceived his error from the Deck; and was convinced that the Hum-works

of Trees he had seen, and relied on for sure Landmarks, had counter Points to the South Cape, which had misguided him; and that it was the opening of the Bay, which made the Land at distance out of sight.

This fatal Disappointment (which was now past human help) might have met an easy remedy, had our Sails and Rigging been in any tolerable condition to keep the windward gage (for we had both the Capes in our sight). But under our circumstances, it was vain to endeavour such a thing; all our equipage, from Stem to Stern, being no better than that of a western Barge; and we could not lie within eleven or twelve points of the Wind.

Defeated thus of lively Hopes we had the Night before entertained, to sleep in warm Beds with our friends in *Virginia;* it was a heavy spectacle to see ourselves running at a round rate from it, notwithstanding all that could be done to the contrary. Nothing was now to be heard but Sighs and Groans, through all that wretched Family, which must be soon reduced to so short allowance, as would just keep Life and Soul together. Half a Bisket Cake a day to each (of which five whole ones made a pound) was all we had to trust to. Of Liquors there remained none to quench thirst: *Malaga* Sack was given plentifully to every one, which served rather to inflame and increase thirst, than to extinguish it.

The Gale blew fresh (as it uses to do) towards Night, and made a Western Sea, that carried us off at a great rate. Mate *Putts*, extremely abashed to see his confidence so miserably deluded, grew sad and contemplative; even to the moving compassion in those, whom his unhappy mistake had reduced to this Misery. We cherished him the best we could; and would not have him so profoundly sad, for what was rather his misfortune than his fault.

The Wind continued many Days and Nights, to send us out into the Ocean; insomuch, that until we thought ourselves at least an hundred leagues from the Capes, the North west Gale gave us no truce to consider what was best to do. All little Helps were used by top-gallant sails, and Masts placed where they could be fixed, to keep the windward gage; but, for lack of Borolins and other tackle to keep them stiff to draw, every great head Sea would check them in the Wind, and rend and tear them in pieces: so that it was an ordinary exercise with us to lie tumbling in the Sea, a watch or two together, driving to leeward, whilst the broken Sails were in hand to be repaired.

It would be too great a trial of the Reader's patience, to be entertained with every Circumstance of this Voyage; which continued in great extremity, for at least forty days, from the time we left the Land; our Miseries increasing every hour: I shall there-

fore omit the greatest number of our ill encounters, which were frequently repeated on us; and remember only what has in my thoughts been most remarkable, and made the deepest impression in my memory.

Nov. 19. To give us a little breathing, about the nineteenth day the Wind shifted to the East, but so little to our avail (the Gale so gentle, and the Seas made against us like a strong Current,) that, with the Sail we were able to make, we could hardly reckon the Ship shortened the way, but that she rather lost ground. In less than two Watches, the Gale faced about; and if we saved our own by the change, it was all we could pretend unto.

Our mortal Enemy, the North west Gale, began afresh to send us out to Sea, and to raise our terrors to a higher pitch. One of our Pumps grew so unfixed, that it could not be repaired; the other was kept in perpetual motion. No Man was excused to take his turn, that had strength to perform it. Amongst the manifold Perils that threatened every hour to be our last, we were in mortal apprehension, that the Guns, which were all aloft, would shew us a slippery trick, and some of the tackle that held them being grown very rotten: and it was another providence they held so long, considering how immoderately the Ship rolled, especially when the Sails were mending that should

keep her steady, which was very near a third part of our time, whilst we plied to the windward with a contrary Gale. To prevent this danger which must befal, when any one Gun should get loose, Mate *Putts* found an Expedient by a more than ordinary smooth water; and by placing Timber on the Hatch-way, to supply the place of Shrouds, he got them safe in Hold. Which tended much to our good, not only in removing the present Danger, but by making the Ship (as Seamen say,) more wholesome, by having so great a weight removed from her upper works, into her centre, where ballast was much wanted. But the intolerable want of all Provisions, both of meat and drink, jostled the sense of this Happiness soon out of our minds. And to aggravate our Misery yet the more, it was now our interest to pray, that the contrary Gale might stand; for whilst the Westerly Wind held, we had rain water to drink, whereas at East the Wind blew dry.

In this miserable posture of Ship and Provision, we reckoned our selves driven to the East, in less than a week's time, at least two hundred leagues; which we despaired ever to recover without a miracle of Divine mercy. The Storm continued so fresh against us, that it confounded the most knowing of our Ship's Company, in advising what Course to take. Some reckoned the Ship had made her way most Southerly, and therefore counselled we should

put ourselves in quest of the *Bermudas* Islands, as to the nearest Land we could hope to make: but that motion had great opposition, in regard of the Winter season, which would daily produce insuperable difficulties, and give greater puzzle in the discovery of it, than our circumstances would admit. Others would say, "The furthest way about, in our case, would prove the nearest way Home;" and judged it best to take advantage of the Westerly Winds, and impetuous Seas made to our hands, to attempt returning back to the Western Islands; as a thing more likely to succeed (though at a great distance) than thus to strive against the stream, without any hopeful prospect of gaining the Capes. But that motion met with a more general aversion; because the run was so long, that, though the Gale had been in our own power to continue it, we could not have subsisted. Backwards we could not go, nor forwards we could not go in the Course we desired: it followed then of consequence, that we must take the middle way; and it was resolved, that, without further persisting, in endeavouring to gain our Port by a close hale, we should raise our tackle, and sail tardy for the first *American* land we could fetch; though we ran to the Leeward as far as the coast of *New England*.

Whilst this determination was agreed and put in practice, the Famine grew sharp upon us. Women and Children made dismal cries, and grievous

complaints. The infinite number of Rats, that all the Voyage had been our plague, we now were glad to make our prey to feed on; and as they were insnared and taken, a well grown rat was sold for sixteen shillings as a market rate. Nay, before the Voyage did end (as I was credibly informed) a Woman great with child offered twenty shillings for a Rat, which the Proprietor refusing, the Woman died. Many sorrowful Days, and Nights, we spun out in this manner, till the blessed feast of *Christmas* came upon us, which we began with a very melancholy solemnity; and yet to make some distinction of times, the scrapings of the Meal-tubs were all amassed together to compose a Pudding. *Malaga* Sack, Sea water, with Fruit and Spice, all well fryed in Oyl, were the ingredients of this Regale, which raised some envy in the Spectators; but allowing some privilege to the Captain's Mess, we met no obstruction, but did peaceably enjoy our *Christmas* pudding.

My greatest impatience was of Thirst, and my Dreams were all of Cellars and Taps running down my throat; which made my waking much the worse by that tantalizing fancy. Some relief I found very real, by the Captain's favour in allowing me a share of some Butts of small Claret, he had concealed in a private Cellar for a dead lift. It wanted a mixture of water for qualifying it to quench

Thirst; however, it was a present remedy, and a great refreshment to me.

I cannot forget another instance of the Captain's kindness to me, of a like obligation. He singled me out one day, to go with him into the Hold, to seek fresh water in the bottoms of the empty Casks. With much ado, we got a quantity to satisfy our longing, though for the thickness thereof, it was not palatable. We were now each of us astride on a Butt of *Malaga*, which gave the Captain occasion to taste of their contents. We tasted and tasted it again; and though the total we drank was not considerable, yet it had an effect on our heads that made us suspend (though we could not forget) our wants of water. The operation this little debauch had upon the Captain, was very different from what it wrought on me, who felt myself refreshed as with a Cordial. But the poor Captain fell to contemplate (as it better became him) our sad Condition; and being troubled in mind, for having brought so many wretched souls into Misery, by a false confidence he gave them of his having a good Ship, which he now thought would prove their ruin; and being conscious that their loss would lie all at his door; it was no easy matter to appease his troubled thoughts. He made me a particular compliment, for having engaged me and my friends in the same bottom, and upon that burst into tears. I com-

forted him the best I could, and told him, *We must all submit to the hand of God, and rely on his goodness; hoping, that the same Providence which had hitherto so miraculously preserved us, would still be continued in our favour, till we were in safety.* We retired obscurely to our Friends, who had been wondering at our absence.

The westerly Wind continued to shorten our way to the Shore, though very distant from our Port: but this did not at all incline us to change our resolution of sailing large for the first Land; it did rather animate and support us, in our present disasters of Hunger and Thirst, Toil and Fatigue. The hopes of touching Land was Food and Raiment to us.

In this wearisome Expectation we passed our time for eight or nine Days and Nights, and then we saw the water change colour, and had Soundings. We approached the Shore the Night of *January* 3d, with little sail; and, as the Morning of the fourth day gave us light, we saw the Land. But in what latitude we could not tell; for that the Officers, whose duty it was to keep the reckoning of the Ship, had for many days past totally omitted that part; nor had we seen the Sun a great while, to take Observations; which (though a lame excuse) was all they had to say for that omission. But in truth it was evident, that the desperate estate of the Ship, and hourly jeopardy of life, did make them

careless of keeping either Log or Journal: the thoughts of another account, they feared to be at hand, did make them neglect that of the Ship as inconsiderable.

About the hours of three or four in the Afternoon of the twelfth Eve, we were shot in fair to the Shore. The Evening was clear and calm, the Water smooth; the Land we saw nearest, was some six or seven *English* miles distant from us; our Soundings twenty-five fathoms in good ground for anchor hold.

These Invitations were all attractive to encourage the generality (especially the Passengers) to execute what we had resolved on for the Shore: but one old Officer, who was husband for the Ship's stores, whilst there were any, would not consent on any terms, to trust the only Anchor that was left us for preservation, out of his sight at sea. His argu-ments to back his Opinion were plausible; as, First, the hazard of losing that only Anchor by any sudden Storm, bringing with it a necessity to cut or slip, on which every life depended. Secondly, The shortness of the Cable, very unfit for anchorage in the Ocean: And Thirdly, The weakness of the Ship's Crew, many dead and fallen overboard; and the Passengers weakened by hunger, dying every day on the Decks, or at the Pump, which with great difficulty was kept going, but must not rest.

Against the old Man's Reasonings was urged the very small remains of Bisket, at our short allowance, which would hardly hold a week; the assurance of our loss by Famine, if we should be forced to Sea again by a North-west Storm; and the great possibility of finding a Harbour to save our Ship, with our lives and goods, in some creek on the Coast. These last Reasons prevailed upon the majority against all negatives: and when the Anchor was let loose, Mate *Putts* was ordered to make the first discovery of what we might expect from the nearest Land. He took with him twelve sickly Passengers, who fancied the Shore would cure them; and carried Major *Morrison* on Shore with him, in pursuit of such Adventures as are next in course to be related. For according to the intelligence that could be got from Land, we were to take our measures at Sea; either to proceed on in our Voyage, in that sad condition that has been in some proportion set forth, or to land ourselves, and unload the Ship, and try our fortunes amongst the *Indians*.

In four or five hours time, we could discover the Boat returning with Mate *Putts* alone for a setter; which we looked upon as a signal of happy Success. When he came on board, his mouth was full of good tidings; as namely, That he discovered a Creek that would harbour our Ship, and that there was a depth of water on the Bar, sufficient for her

draught, when she was light: That there was excellent fresh Water (a taste whereof Major *Morrison* had sent me in a bottle) That the Shore swarmed with Fowl; and That Major *Morrison* stayed behind, in expectation of the whole Ship's Company to follow.

I opened mine ears wide to the Motion, and promoted the design of our landing there, with all the rhetorick and interest I had. The Captain was no less forward for it, hoping thereby to save the lives of the Passengers that remained: And, that he might not wholly rely on Mate *Putts's* judgment, in a matter wherein he was most concerned, he embarked with me in the Wherry, with a kinsman of his, and some others; and the Seamen were glad of my help to put the Boat to Shore: my hands having been very well seasoned at the pump, by taking my turn for many weeks, at the rate of three hours in twenty-four. My passionate desires to be on Shore, at the fountain head to drink without stint, did not a little quicken me; insomuch, that the six or seven miles I rowed on this occasion, were no more than the breadth of the *Thames* at *London*, at another time, would have been toilsome to me.

In our passage to the Shore, the darkness of the Evening made us glad to see the Fires of our friends at Land. Which were not only our beacons to direct us to their company, but were also a comfortable relief to our chill bodies, when we came

near them; the Weather being very cold (as it ever is) the Wind North-west on that Coast.

11. Assoon as I had set my foot on Land, and had rendred thanks to Almighty God, for opening this door of deliverance to us, after so many rescues even from the jaws of Death at Sea: Major *Morrison* was pleased to oblige me beyond all requital, in conducting me to the running Stream of Water, where, without any limitation of short allowance, I might drink my fill. I was glad of so great liberty, and made use of it accordingly, by prostrating myself on my belly, and setting my mouth against the Stream, that it might run into my thirsty stomach without stop. The rest of the Company were at liberty to use their own methods to quench their Thirst; but this I thought the greatest pleasure I ever enjoyed on earth.

After this sweet Refreshment, the Captain, myself, and his kinsman, crossed the Creek in our Wherry, invited thither by the cackling of Wildfowl. The Captain had a gun charged, and the Moon shining bright in his favour, he killed one Duck of the flock that flew over us; which was roasted on the stick out of hand by the Seamen, whilst we walked on the Shore of the Creek for further discovery.

In passing a small gullet we trod on an Oyster bank, that did happily furnish us with a good addition to our Duck. When the Cooks had done

their parts, we were not long about ours, but fell on without using the ceremony of calling the rest of our Company; which would have been no entertainment to so many, the Proverb telling us, *The fewer the better Chear.* The bones, head, legs, and inwards, were agreed to be the Cooks fees: so we gave God thanks, and returned to our Friends, without making boast of our good fortunes.

Fortified with this Repast, we informed ourselves of the depth of water at the Bar of the Creek, in which the Captain seemed satisfied; and made shews in all his deportment, of his resolution to discharge the Ship there, in order to our safety. Towards break of day, he asked me in my ear, If I would go back with him on board the Ship? I told him,—No, because it would be labour lost, in case he would persist in his resolution to do what he pretended: which he ratified again by protestations, and so went off with his kinsman; who had a large coarse cloth Gown I borrowed of him to shelter me from the sharpest Cold I ever felt. That which had sometimes been a paradox to me, was by this experience made demonstrable, (viz.) That the Land on the Continent, is much colder than that of Islands, though in the same latitude: and the reason is evident to any, who shall consider the many accidents on the Continent, that cool the Air by Winds that come from the Land; as in those parts of *America*, the mighty towring Mountains

to the North-west, covered all the year with Snow, which does refrigerate the Air even in the heat of Summer: Whereas Winds coming from the Sea, are generally warm. And this hath proved a fatal truth to the inhabitants of *Virginia:* who, in the South-east Winds, have gone to bed in sultry heat and sweat, without any covering, and have awaked in the Night stiff and benumbed with Cold, without the use of their limbs; occasioned by a shifting of the Wind in the Night, from Sea to Land.

No sooner had the Captain cleared himself of the Shore, but the Day-break made me see my error in not closing with his motion in my ear. The first object we saw at Sea, was the Ship under sail, standing for the Capes, with what canvass could be made to serve the turn. It was a very heavy prospect to us who remained (we knew not where) on Shore, to see ourselves thus abandoned by the Ship; and more, to be forsaken by the Boat, so contrary to our mutual agreement. Many hours of hard labour and toil were spent, before the Boat could fetch the Ship; and the Seamen (whose act it was to set sail without the Captain's order, as we were to'd after) cared not for the Boat, whilst the Wind was large to carry them to the Capes. But Mate *Pulls*, who was more sober and better natured, discovering the Boat from the Mizzen-top, lay by, till she came with the Captain on board.

In this amazement and confusion of Mind, that no words can express, did our miserable distressed Party condole with each other, our being so cruelly abandoned, and left to the last despairs of human help; or indeed of ever seeing more the face of man. We entred into a sad consultation what course to take: and having, in the first place, by united Prayers, implored the protection of Almighty God, and recommended our miserable estate to the same Providence, which, in so many instances of mercy, had been propitious to us at Sea; the whole Party desired me to be, as it were, the Father of this distressed Family, to advise and conduct them in all things I thought might most tend to our preservation. This way of government we agreed, must necessarily reside in one; to avoid disputes, and variety of contradictory Humours, which would render our Deliverance the more impracticable; and it was thought most reasonable to be placed in me, for the Health and Strength it had pleased God to preserve unto me above my fellows, more than for any other qualification.

At the time I quitted the Ship, my Servant *Thomas Harman*, a *Dutchman*, did, at parting, advertise me (for I left him on board to look to my goods) that, in the bundle I ordered to be carried with me on Shore, I should find about thirty Bisket Cakes; which he, by unparalleled frugality, had saved out of his own belly, in the great dearth and

scarcity we lived in. The thoughts of these Biskets entring upon me, at the time I was pressed to accept this Charge, I thought myself obliged, in Christian equity, to let every one partake of what I had; and so, dividing the Bread into nineteen parts (which was our number) perhaps I added the fraction to my own share.

III. It was, to the best of my Remembrance, upon the fifth day of *January* (1650) that we entred into this method of life, or rather into an orderly way unto our Graves; since nothing but the image of Death was represented to us. But that we might use our utmost endeavours, to extract all the good we could out of those evil symptoms that did every way seem to confound us, I made a muster of the most able bodies for arms and labour; and, in the first place, I put a fowling-piece into every man's hand that could tell how to use it. Amongst the rest, a young Gentleman, *Mr. Francis Cary* by name, was very helpful to me, in the fatigue and active part of this undertaking. He was strong and healthy, and was very ready for any employment I could put upon him. He came recommended to me by Sir *Edward Thurlan*: his genius leading him rather to a Planter's life abroad, than to any course his friends could propose to him in *England;* and this rough entrance was like to let him know the worst at first.

All our Woodmen and Fowlers had powder and

shot given them, and some Geese were killed for Supper. Evening came on apace, and our resolution being taken to stay one Night more in these quarters, I sent my Cousin *Cary* to head the Creek, and make what discovery he could, as he passed along the Shore, whether of *Indians*, or any other living creatures, that were likely to relieve our wants, or end our days. To prepare like men for the latter, we resolved to die fighting, if that should be the case; or if, on the contrary, the *Indians* should accost us in a mein of Amity, then to meet them with all imaginable Courtesy, and please them with such trivial presents as they love to deal in, and so engage them into a friendship with us.

My Cousin *Cary* was not absent much above an hour, when we saw him return in a contrary point to that he sallied out upon. His face was clouded with ill news he had to tell us; namely, that we were now residing on an Island without any Inhabitant, and that he had seen its whole extent, surrounded (as he believed) with water deeper than his head: that he had not seen any Native, or any thing in human shape, in all his round; nor any other Creature besides the Fowls of the air, which he would, but could not, bring unto us.

This dismal success of so unexpected a nature, did startle us more than any single Misfortune that had befallen us; and was like to plunge us into utter Despair. We beheld each other as miserable

Wretches sentenced to a lingering Death; no man knowing what to propose for prolonging life, any longer than he was able to fast. My Cousin *Cary* was gone from us without notice, and we had reason (for what followed) to believe he was under the conduct of an angel: for we soon saw him return with a chearful look, his hands carrying something we could not distinguish by any name at a distance. But, by nearer approach, we were able to descry they were a parcel of Oysters; which, in crossing the Island, as he stept over a small current of water, he trode upon to his hurt: but laying hands on what he felt with his feet, and pulling it with all his force, he found himself possessed of this booty of Oysters; which grew in clusters, and were contiguous to a large Bank of the same species, that was our staple Subsistance whilst we remained there.

Whilst this very cold Season continued, great flights of Fowl frequented the Island. Geese, Ducks, Curlieus, and some of every sort we killed, and roasted on sticks, eating all but the feathers. It was the only perquisite, belonging to my place of preference to the rest, that the right of Carving was annexed to it; wherein, if I was partial to my own interest, it was in cutting the Wing as large and full of meat as possible; whereas the rest was measured out, as it were, with scale and compass. But as the Wind veered to the Southward,

we had greater warmth and fewer Fowl, for they would then be gone to colder Climates. In their absence we were confined to the Oyster Bank, and a sort of Weed, some four inches long, as thick as House leek, and the only green (except Pines) that the Island afforded. It was very insipid on the palate; but being boiled with a little pepper (of which one had brought a pound on shore) and helped with five or six Oysters, it became a Regale for every one in turn.

In quartering our Family, we did observe the decency of distinguishing sexes. We made a small Hut for the poor weak Women to be by themselves. Our Cabbin for Men, was of the same fashion, but much more spacious, as our numbers were. One Morning, in walking on the Shore by the Sea side, with a long gun in my hand loaden with small shot, I fired at a great flight of small birds called *Oxeyes*, and made great slaughter among them; which gave refreshment to all our Company. But this harvest had a short end; and as the Weather by its warmth, chased the Fowl to the North, our Hunger grew sharper upon us. And in fine, all the strength that remained unto us, was employed in a heartless struggling to spin out life a little longer: for we still deemed ourselves doomed to die by famine. From whose sharpest and most immediate darts, though we seemed to be rescued for a small time, by meeting these con-

tingent helps on Shore, yet still we apprehended (and that on too great probability) they only served to reprieve us for a little longer day of execution, with all the dreadful circumstances of a lingering death. For the South-west Winds that had carried away the Fowl, brought store of Rain. Which meeting with a Spring Tide, our chief magazine, the Oyster Bank, was overflown: and as they became more accessible, our bodies also decayed so sensibly, that we could hardly pull them out of their muddy beds they grew on. And from this time forward, we rarely saw the Fowl; they now grew shy, and kept aloof when they saw us contriving against their lives.

Add to this, our Guns most of them unfixed and out of order, and our Powder much decayed; insomuch that nothing did now remain to prolong life, but what is counted rather Sauce to whet, than Substance to satisfy the Appetite. I mean the Oysters, which were not easily gotten by our crazy bodies, after the quantity was spent that lay most commodious to be reached; and which had fed us for the first six days we had been on the Island. And thus we wished every day to be the last of our lives, if God had so pleased: so hopeless, and desperate was our condition; all expectation of human Succour being vanished and gone.

Of the three weak Women, before mentioned,

one had the envied happiness to die about this time; and it was my advice to the Survivors, who were following her apace, to endeavour their own preservation by converting her dead Carcase into Food; as they did to good effect. The same Counsel was embraced by those of our sex: the Living fed upon the Dead; four of our Company having the happiness to end their miserable lives on *Sunday* night, the — day of *January*. Their chief distemper, 'tis true, was Hunger; but it pleased God to hasten their exit by an immoderate access of Cold, caused by a most terrible Storm of Hail and Snow at North-west, on the *Sunday* aforesaid; which did not only dispatch those four to their long homes, but did sorely threaten all that remained alive, to perish by the same fate.

Great was the Toil that lay on my hands (as the strongest to labour) to get Fuel together sufficient for our Preservation. In the first place I divested myself of my great Gown, which I spread at large, and extended against the Wind, in nature of a screen; having first shifted our Quarters to the most calm commodious place, that could be found, to keep us as much as possible, from the inclemency of that prodigious Storm. Under the shelter of this traverse, I took as many of my Comrades as could be comprehended in so small a space: whereas those who could not partake of that accommodation, and were enabled to make provision for

themselves, were forced to suffer for it. And it was remarkable, that notwithstanding all the provision that could possibly be made against the sharpness of this Cold; either by a well burning Fire consisting of two or three loads of Wood, or shelter of this great Gown to the windward, we could not be warm. That side of our wearing Cloaths was singed and burnt, which lay towards the flames; whilst the other side that was from the Fire, became frozen and congealed. Those who lay to the leeward of the flame, could not stay long to enjoy the warmth so necessary to life; but were forced to quit, and be gone, to avoid Suffocation by the smoke and flame.

When the Day appeared, and the Sun got up to dissipate the Clouds; with down-cast looks and dejected, the Survivors of us entered into a final Deliberation, of what remained to be done on our parts (besides our Prayers to Almighty God) to spin out a little longer time of life, and wait a further Providence from Heaven for our better relief. There were still some hands that retained vigour, though not in proportion to those difficulties we were to encounter, which humanly did seem insuperable. The unhappy circumstance of our being cooped up in an Island, was that which took from us all probable hopes of escaping this terrible Death, that did threaten us every hour. Major *Morrison*, on whose Counsel I had reason

to rely most, was extremely decayed in his Strength, his legs not being able to support him. It was a wonderful Mercy that mine remained in competent strength for our common good, which I resolved, by God's help, to employ for that end to the last gasp.

In this last Resolution we had to make,-I could not think on any thing worthy my proposal, but by an a tempt to cross the Creek, and swim to the Main, which was not above an hundred yards over; and, being there, to coast along the Woods to the South-west (which was the bearing of *Virginia*) until I should meet *Indians*, who would either relieve, or destroy us. I fancied the former would be our lot, when they should see our Conditions, and that no hurt was intended to them; or, if they should prove inhuman, and of a bloody nature, and would not give us quarter; why even in that case, it would be worth this labour of mine to procure a sudden period to all our Miseries.

I opened my thoughts to this purpose to the Company, who were sadly surprized at the Motion; but being fully convinced in their judgment, that this was the only course that could be depended on (humanly speaking) for our relief, they all agreed it must be done.

To fortify me for this Expedition, it was necessary that some provision should be made, for a daily support to me in this my peregrination. Our

choice was small. Our only friend the Oyster Bank, was all we had to rely on. Which being well stewed in their own liquor, and put up into bottles; I made no doubt, by *God's* blessing, but that two of them well filled, would suffice to prolong my life, in moderate strength, until I had obtained my end. To accomplish this design, my Cousin *Cary* laboured hard for Oysters, hoping to make one in the Adventure.

IV. *January* 14, About the ninth day of our being in the Island, I fell to my Oyster Cookery, and made a good progress that very day. When, in the heat of my labour, my Cousin *Cary* brought me word, that he had just in that instant seen *Indians* walking on the Main. I suspended my Cookery out of hand, and hastened with all possible speed to be an eye witness of that happy Intelligence: but with all the haste I could make, I could see no such things; but judged it a Chimera that proceeded from some operation in my Cousin's fancy, who was more than ordinary of a sanguine nature. Which made him see (as it were by enchantment) things that were not, having many times been deluded, as I judged, by the same deception.

Defeated in this manner of my hopes to see *Indians*, without the pains of seeking them, I returned to my Work; and continued at it till one Bottle was full, and myself tired; wherefore, that I might be a little recreated, I took a gun in my hand; and

hearing the noise of Geese on our Shore, I approached them privately, and had the good hap to be the death of one. This Goose, now in my possession without witnesses, I resolved to eat alone (deducting the head, bones, guts &c. which were the Cook's fees) hoping thereby to be much the better enabled to swim the Creek, and perform the work I had upon my hand. I hung my Goose upon the twist of a Tree, in a shrubby part of the Wood; whilst I went to call aside our Cook with his broach, and a coal of fire, to begin the roast. But when we came to the place of execution, my Goose was gone all but the head, the body stollen by Wolves; which the *Indians* told us after, do abound greatly in that Island.

The loss of this Goose, which my empty stomach looked for with no small hopes of satisfaction, did vex me heartily. I wished I could have taken the Thief of my Goose, to have served him in the same kind, and to have taken my revenge in the law of Retaliation. But that which troubled me more, was an Apprehension that came into my mind, That this loss had been the effect of Divine justice on me, for designing to deal unequally with the rest of my Fellow-Sufferers; which I thought, at first blush, looked like a breach of trust. But then again, when I considered the Equity of the thing, that I did it merely to enable myself to attain their preservation, and which otherwise I could not have

done; I found I could absolve myself from any guilt of that kind. Whatever I suffered in this disappointment, the Cook lost not all his fees; the head and neck remained for him on the Tree.

Being thus over-reached by the Wolf, it was time to return to my Cookery, in order to my sally out of the Island; for I had little confidence in the notice frequently brought me, Of more and more *Indians* seen on the other side: since my own eyes could never bear witness of their being there.

The next Morning, being the ninth or tenth of our being there, I fell to work afresh, hoping to be ready to begin my Journey that day; and being very busy, intelligence was brought, that a Canoe was seen to lie on the broken ground to the south of our Island, which was not discovered till now, since our being there: but this I thought might be a mistake, cast in the same mould of many others, that had deceived those discoverers, who fancied all things real according to their own wishes. But when it was told me, That *Indians* had been at the poor Women's Cabbin in the night, and had given them Shell-fish to eat; that was a demonstration of reality beyond all suspicion. I went immediately, to be informed from themselves, and they both avowed it for truth, shewing the Shells, (the like whereof I never had seen) and this I took for proof of what they said.

The further account these Women gave of the

Indians, was, That they pointed to the South-east with their hands, which they knew not how to interpret; but did imagine by their several gestures, they would be with them again to Morrow. Their pointing to the South-east, was like to be the time they would come, meaning nine o'clock to be their hour, where the Sun will be at that time. Had the Women understood their language, they could not have learned the time of the day by any other computation, than pointing at the Sun. It is all the Clock they have for the day, as the coming and going of the *Cahunks* (the Geese) is their Almanack or Prognostick, for the winter, and summer seasons.

This News gave us all new life, almost working miracles amongst us; by making those who desponded, and totally yielded themselves up to the weight of Despair, and lay down with an intent never more to rise again, to take up their beds and walk. This friendly charitable Visit of the *Indians*, did also put a stop to my Preparations to seek them; who had so humanely prevented me, by their seeking ways to preserve and save our lives. Instead of those Preparations for my march, which had cost me so much pains, I passed my time now in contriving the fittest posture, our present condition would allow us to put on, when these angels of light should appear again with the glad tidings of our Relief: and the Result was, that every able

man should have his Gun, lying by his side, laden with shot, and as fit for use as possible; but not to be handled, unless the *Indians* came to us like Enemies (which was very unlikely, the premises considered) and then to sell our lives at as dear a rate as we could.—But if they came in an amicable posture, then would we meet them unarmed, chearfully; which the *Indians* like, and hate to see a melancholy face.

In these joyful hopes of unexpected Deliverance by these *Indians*, did we pass the interval of their Absence. Every eye looked sharply out, when the Sun was at South-east, to peep through the avenues of the Wood, to discover the approaches of our new Friends. When the Sun came to the South, we thought ourselves forgotten by them; and began to doubt the worst: as losing Gamesters at play for their last estate, suspect some stabeast to defeat the hopes of the fairest game. We feared some miscarriage; either from their Inconstancy by change of their mind, or that some unlooked for Misfortune, that our evil fates reserved for us, had interposed for our ruin.

Scouts were sent out to the right and left hands, without discovery of any body all the Forenoon: and then, considering our Case admitted no Delay, I began to resume my former resolution, of swimming to them, that would not come to us. But how wholesome soever this Counsel might seem in itself, it

was most difficult to be put in practice, in regard of the cold time.

The northerly Wind, that in these Climates does blow very cold in the heat of Summer, does much more distemper the Air in the Winter Season, (as our poor Comrades felt that *Sunday* Night to their cost,) and did send so cold a gale upon the surface of the water in the Creek I was to pass, that, in the general opinion of all the concerned, it was not a thing to be attempted; and that if I did, I must surely perish in the act. I was easily perswaded to forbear an action so dangerous; and the rather, because I verily believed the *Indians* would bring us off, if our patience would hold out.

About the hours of two or three o'clock, it pleased God to change the face of our Condition for the best: for whilst I was busy at the Fire in preparations to wait on them; the *Indians*, who had placed themselves behind a very great Tree, discovered their faces with most chearful Smiles, without any kind of Arms, or appearance of evil design; the whole number of them (perhaps twenty or thirty in all) consisting of Men, Women, and Children, all that could speak accosting us with joyful countenance, shaking hands with every one they met. The words *Ny Top!* often repeated by them, made us believe they bore a friendly signification, as they were soon interpreted to signify my Friend. After many Salutations, and *Ny Tops*, interchanged, the Night approaching, we fell to parley with each

ther; but performed it in signs more confounded and unintelligible, than any other Conversation I ever met withal; as hard to be interpreted, as if they had expressed their thoughts in the *Hebrew*, or *Chaldean* Tongues.

They did me the honour to make all Applications to me; as being of largest dimensions, and equipped in a camlet Coat, glittering with galoon lace of gold and silver. It being generally true, that where knowledge informs not, the Habit qualifies.

The ears of *Indian* corn they gave us for present Sustenance, needed no other interpreter, to let them know, how much more acceptable it was to us, than the sight of dead and living Corpses; which raised great compassion in them, especially in the Women, who are observed to be of a soft tender nature. One of them made me a present of the leg of a Swan, which I eat as privately as it was given me; and thought it so much the more excellent, by how much it was larger, than the greatest limb of any Fowl I ever saw.

The *Indians* stayed with us about two hours, and parted not without a new Appointment to see us again the next day; and the hour we were to expect them, by their pointing to the Sun, was to be at two o'clock in the Afternoon. I made the chief of them presents of ribbon, and other slight trade, which they loved; designing, by mutual endearment, to let them see, it would gratify their interest

as well as their charity, to treat us well. *Ha-na Haw!* was their parting word, which is *Farewel!* Pointing again at the place, where the Sun would be at our next meeting. We took leave in their own words, *Ha-na Haw!*

The going away of the *Indians*, and leaving us behind, was a separation hard to be borne by our hungry Company; who nevertheless had received a competent quantity of Corn and Bread, to keep us, till they returned to do better things for our relief. We did not fail to give glory to God for our approaching Deliverance; and the joy we conceived in our minds, in the sense of so great a Mercy, kept us awake all the Night; and was a Cordial to the sick, and weak, to recover their health and strength.

The delay of the *Indians* coming next day, beyond their set time, we thought an age of tedious Years. At two o'clock we had no news of them: but by attending their own time, with a little patience, we might see a considerable number of them, Men, Women, and Children, all about our Huts, with recruits of Bread and Corn, to stop every mouth. Many of them desired Beads, and little Truck they use to deal in, as exchange for what they gave us; and we as freely gave them what we had brought on Shore. But to such of us as gave them nothing, the *Indians* failed not, however, to give them Bread for nothing.

One old Man of their Company, who seemed by the preference they gave him, to be the most considerable of the Party; applied himself to me, by gestures and signs to learn something (if possible) of our Country, and occasion of the sad posture he saw us in: to the end that he might inform his Master, the King of *Kickotank* (on whose territories we stood,) and dispose him to succour us, as we had need. I made return to him, in many vain words, and as many insignificant signs, as himself had made to me; and neither of us one jot the wiser. The several Nonpluses we both were at, in striving to be better understood, afforded so little of edification to either party, that our time was almost spent in vain. It came at last into my head, that I had long since read Mr. *Smith's* Travels through those parts of *America*, and that the word *Werowance*, (a word frequently pronounced by the old Man,) was in *English*, the King. That word, spoken by me, with strong emphasis; together with the motions of my body, speaking my desire of going to him; was very pleasing to the old Man. Who thereupon embraced me with more than common kindness, and by all demonstrations of satisfaction, did shew, that he understood my meaning. This one word was all the *Indian* I could speak, which like a little armour well placed, contributed to the saving of our lives.

In order to what was next to be done, he took

me by the hand, and led me to the Sea side. Where I embarked with himself, and one more *Indian* in a Canoe, that had brought him there. Which the third man rowed over to that broken ground, where, not long before, we made discovery of a Canoe newly laid there; and (as they told us) was lodged there on purpose to be ready for our transport, at such time as they thought fit to fetch us off: And the reason of their taking me with them, was to help to launch this weighty Embarkation, which was very heavy for its proportion; as being made of the body of an Oak or Pine, some twenty-two foot in length, hollowed like a pig-trough, which is the true description of a Canoe. The manner of its being put into motion is very particular: the labourers with long booms, place their feet on the starboard and larboard sides of the Boat, and with this fickle footing do they heave it forward.

I cannot omit a passage of one Major *Stephens*, who had been an Officer in the late Civil War, under Sir *William Waller*, and was now one of our Fellow-Sufferers. He could not be persuaded by any means, to give his Vote for prosecuting the way we were in for our relief; but differed as much in judgment with us, in this our design of going to the King of this Country, as he had done in *England*, by engaging against his natural Sovereign. He cried out, *These Rogues would draw us into their power, and take away our lives*; Advising, rather

than to put our trust in this King, we should put ourselves into one of these Canoes, and taking advantage of the calm time, we should try to get the North Cape.

His fears, and objections, were so unreasonable, that they were not worth an answer; and his project of going thus by Sea was so ridiculous, that it did exceed all chimeras of Knight Errantry; and his apprehending the King would ensnare us, we all esteemed vain, as nothing could be more childish. We had been in the King's power (though we knew it not) ever since we set foot on that Ground: so that had his mind been that way bent, he need use no other stratagem to end our lives, than to have forborn the sending us relief. Every one dissented to the main project; and I did unfeignedly profess, for my own part, that I would much rather expose my life to the honour of a King (though never so mean) than to the Billows of the Sea, in such a bottom: which would be to tempt God to destroy us, and punish our presumption by his justice; at the same time that he was saving us by a miracle of his mercy.

I should not have remembred this passage of Major *Stephens*, had he only shewed his antipathy in this single instance; but because he repeated the rancor of his mind, in two other very small occasions, which will follow: 'tis just that the malignity of so ill an humour should suffer some reprimand.

V. The Canoes being fitted to take us in, and waft us to the Main, I made a fair Muster of the remnant we had to carry off; and found we wanted six of the number we brought on Shore (viz.) four Men, and two Women. Five of those six, we knew were dead; but missing one of our living Women, we made the *Indians* understand the same: who as readily made us know, that she was in their thoughts, and should be cared for, assoon as we were settled in our quarters.

In passing the Creek that was to lead us to an honest Fisherman's House, we entred a branch of it to the Southward, that was the road way to it. The Tide was going out, and the water very shoal; which gave occasion to any one that had a knife, to treat himself with Oysters all the way. At the head of that branch, we were able in a short time to discover that heaven of happiness, where our most courteous Host did, with a chearful countenance, receive and entertain us. Several Fires were kindled out of hand, our Arms and Powder were laid up in safety, and divers earthen Pipkins were put to boil, with such varieties as the Season would afford. Every body had something, or other, to defend and save them from the Cold; and my obligation to him, by a peculiar care that he had of me, exceeded all the rest: I had one intire side of the Fire, with a large Platform to repose on, to myself; furrs, and Deer skins, to cover my body,

and support my head, with a priority of Respect and friendly Usage; which, to my great trouble, I was not able to deserve at his hands, by any requital then in my power to return.

'Our kind Entertainment in the house of this poor Fisherman, had so many Circumstances of hearty Compassion and Tenderness in every part of it; that, as it ought to be a perpetual motive to engage all of us, who enjoyed the benefit of it, to a daily acknowledgement of the Almighty's goodness for conducting us in this manner by his immediate hand, out of our Afflictions; so may it ever be looked upon, as a just reproach to Christians, who, on all our Sea Coasts, are so far from affording succour to those who, by Shipwreck, and Misfortunes of the Sea, do fall into their power; that they treat with all inhuman savage Barbarity those unhappy souls whom God hath thus afflicted: seizing on their Goods as their proper perquisites, which the waves of the Sea (by Divine Providence) would cast upon the Shore for the true Proprietors; and many times dispatching them out of the world, to silence Complaints, and to prevent all After-Reckonings. And the better to intitle themselves to what they get in this way of Rapine, they wickedly call such devilish Acquests, by the sacred name of *God's good:* prophaning and blaspheming at the same time that holy name, as they violate all the laws of Hospitality and human Society. Whereas,

on the contrary, our charitable Host influenced only by natural law, without the least shew of coveting any thing we had, or prospect of requital in the future; did not only treat in this manner our persons; but did also, with as much Honesty, secure for us our small Stores of Guns, Powder, &c. as if he had read and understood the duty of the Gospel, or had given his only Child as a hostage to secure his dealing justly with us. So that I can never sufficiently applaud the humanity of this *Indian;* nor express the high contentment that I enjoyed in this poor Man's Cottage, which was made of nothing but Mat and Reeds, and bark of Trees fixed to poles. It had a loveliness and symmetry in the air of it, so pleasing to the eye, and refreshing to the mind; that neither the splendor of the *Escurial*, nor the glorious appearance of *Versailles*, were able to stand in competition with it.—We had a boiled Swan for supper, which gave plentiful repasts to all our upper mess.

Our Bodies thus refreshed with Meat and Sleep, comforted with Fires, and secured from all the changes and inclemencies of that sharp piercing Cold Season; we thought the Morning (though clad in Sunshine) did come too fast upon us. Breakfast was liberally provided, and set before us, our Arms faithfully delivered up to my order for carriage; and thus, in readiness to set forward, we put ourselves in a posture to proceed to the place,

where the King resided. The Woman left behind at the Island, had been well looked to, and was now brought off to the care of her Comrade that came with us; neither of them in a condition to take a Journey: but they were carefully attended, and nourished in this poor Man's House, till such time as Boats came to fetch them to *Virginia*. Where they did soon arrive in perfect health, and lived (one or both of them) to be well married, and to bear Children, and to subsist in as plentiful a condition as they could wish.

In beginning our Journey through the Woods, we had not advanced half a mile, till we heard a great noise of Men's Voices, directed to meet and stop our further passage. These were several *Indians*, sent by the King, to order us back to our quarters. Major *Stephens* (not cured of his jealous humour by the experience of what he felt the Night before) took this Alarm in a very bad sense; and as much different from the rest of the company, as in his former fit. He was again deluded with a strong fancy, that these violent motions in the *Indians* who approached us, were the effect of some sudden change in their counsels to our detriment; and that nothing less than our perdition, could be the consequence thereof: which he feared would immediately be put in practice by the clamorous men, that made such haste to meet

us; and (as he would apprehend) to kill and destroy us.

This passion of Major *Stephens*, cast in the same mould with that other he discovered in the Island, had not (as we all thought and told him) whereon to raise the least foundation of terror to affright a Child: for besides the earnest we had received of their good Intentions the Night before, these men, who came so fast upon us, were all unarmed. Nor was it likely, that the King would now possibly imbrew his hands in our blood, and provoke he knew not how powerful a Nation to destroy him; after such kind caresses, and voluntary expressions of a temper very contrary to such Cruelty. In fine, we saw no cause in all the carriage of the *Indians*, on which I could ground any fear; and therefore, I longed with all impatience to see this King, and to enjoy the plenty of his table, as we quickly did.

When these *Indians* came up to us, this doubt was soon cleared. The good-natured King being informed of our bodily weakness, and inability to walk through the Woods to his House on foot (which might be about four miles distant from our setting out) had a real tenderness for us; and sent Canoes to carry us to the place nearest his House, by the favour of another branch of the same Creek: and to the end we might take no vain steps

(as we were going to do) and exhaust our strength to no purpose, these *Indians* made this noise to stop us. We entered the Canoes that were manned, and lay ready to receive us. We had a pleasant Passage in the shallow water, eat Oysters all the way: for although the Breakfast we had newly made, might well excuse a longer abstinence than we were like to be put to; our arrear to our stomachs was so great, that all we swallowed was soon concocted, and our appetite still fresh and craving more.

Having passed this new course for some three *English* miles in another branch of the Creek, our landing place was contrived to be near the House of the Queen then in waiting. She was a very plain Lady to see to, not young, nor yet ill-favoured. Her complexion was of a sad white: but the measures of beauty in those parts, where they are exposed to the scorching Sun from their infancy, are not taken from red and white; but from colours that will better lie upon their tawny skins, as hereafter will be seen.

The beauty of this Queen's Mind (which is more permanent than that of colour) was conspicuous in her Charity and Generosity to us poor starved weather-beaten Creatures, who were the object of it. A Mat was spread without the House, upon the ground, furnished with *Pone*, *Homini*, Oysters, and other things. The Queen made us sit down

and eat, with gestures that shewed more of Courtesy than Majesty; but did speak as hearty welcome as could in silence be expected: and these were the graces that, in our opinion, transcended all other beauties in the world; and did abundantly supply all defects of outward appearance in the person and garb of the Queen. The Southerly Wind made the Season tolerable; but that lasted but little, the North-west Gale coming violently on us again.

When this collation of the Queen was at an end, we took leave of his Majesty with all the shews of gratitude that silence knew how to utter. We were now within half an hour's walk of the King's Mansion, which we soon discovered by the smoak; and saw it was made of the same stuff with the other Houses, from which we had newly parted, namely, of Mat and Reed. Locust Posts sunk in the ground at corners and partitions, was the strength of the whole Fabrick. The Roof was tied fast to the body with a sort of strong Rushes that grow there, which supplied the place of Nails and Pins, Mortises and Tenants. The breadth of this Palace was about eighteen or twenty foot, the length about twenty yards. The only Furniture was several Platforms for lodging, each about two yards long and more; placed on both sides of the House, distant from each other about five foot. The space in the middle was the Chimney, which had a hole in the roof over it, to receive as much

of the smoak as would naturally repair to it; the rest we shared amongst us, which was the greatest part; and the Sitters divided to each side, as our Soldiers do in their *corps de guarde*.

Fourteen great fires, thus situated, were burning all at once. The King's Apartment had a distinction from the rest; it was twice as long, and the bank he sat on was adorned with Deer skins finely dressed, and the best Furrs of Otter, and Beaver, that the Country did produce. The Fire assigned to us was suitable to our number; to which we were conducted, without intermixture of any *Indian*, but such as came to do us offices of friendship. There we were permitted to take our rest, until the King pleased to enter into communication with us. Previous to which he sent his Daughter, a well favoured young Girl of about ten or twelve years old, with a great wooden bowl full of *Homini* (which is the Corn of that Country, beat and boiled to mash.) She did, in a most obliging manner, give me the first taste of it; which I would have handed to my next neighbour after I had eaten: but the young Princess interposed her hand, and taking the bowl out of mine, delivered it to the same party I aimed to give it, and so to all the rest in order. Instead of a Spoon there was a well-shaped Muscle-shell that accompanied the Bowl.

The Linen of that Country grows ready made on the branches of Oak trees (or Pine) the *English* call it *Moss.* It is like the threads of unwhited Cotton-yarn ravelled, and hangs in parcels on the lower boughs. Divine Providence having so ordered it, for the conveniency and sustenance of the Deer, which is all the food they can get in times of Snow. It is very soft, sweet and cleanly, and fit for the purpose of wiping clean the hands, and doing the duty of Napkins.

About three hours after this Meat was ended, the King sent to have me come to him. He called me *Ny a Mutt*, which is to say, *My Brother;* and compelled me to sit down on the same bank with himself, which I had reason to look upon as a mighty favour. After I had sat there about half an hour, and had taken notice of many earnest discourses, and repartees, betwixt the King and his *Crotemen* (so the *Indians* call the King's Council,) I could plainly discover, that the Debate they held was concerning our Adventure and coming there. To make it more clear, the King addressed himself to me, with many gestures of his body; his arms displayed in various postures, to explain what he had in his mind to utter for my better understanding. By all which motions I was not edified in the least, nor could imagine what return to make by voice, or sign, to satisfy the King's

demands, in any thing that related to the present straights of our condition. In fine, I admired their patient sufferance of my dulness to comprehend what they meant, and shewed myself to be troubled at it: which being perceived by the King, he turned all into mirth and jollity, and never left till he made me laugh with him, though I knew not why.

I took that occasion to present the King with a Sword, and long shoulder Belt, which he received very kindly; and, to witness his gracious acceptance, he threw off his *Mach Coat* (or upper covering of Skin) stood upright on his bank; and, with my aid, did accoutre his naked Body with his new harness, which had no other apparel to adorn it, besides a few skins about his loyns to cover his nakedness. In this dress he seemed to be much delighted: but to me, he appeared a figure of such extraordinary shape, with Sword and Belt to set it off, that he needed now no other art to stir me up to laughter and mirth, than the sight of his own proper person.

Having made this short acquaintance with the King, I took leave, and returned to my Comrades. In passing the spaces betwixt Fire and Fire, one space amongst the rest was blinded with a traverse of Mat; and by the noise I heard from thence, like the beating of Hemp, I took it to be some

kind of Elaboratory. To satisfy a curiosity I had to be more particularly informed, I edged close to the Mat; and by standing on tiptoe for a full discovery, I saw a sight that gave me no small trouble. The same specifical Queen (whose Courtesy for our kind usage the other day, can never be enough applauded) was now employed in the hard servile Labour, of beating Corn for the King's dinner; which raised the noise that made me thus inquisitive. I wished myself in her place for her ease: but the Queens of that Country do esteem it a privilege, to serve their Husbands in all kind of Cookery; which they would be as loth to lose, as any Christian Queen would be to take it from them.

Several *Indians* of the first rank followed me to our Quarters; and used their best endeavours to sift something from us, that might give them light into knowing what we were. They sought many ways to make their thoughts intelligible to us: but still we parted without knowing what to fix upon, or how to steer our course in advance of our way to *Virginia.*

In this doubtful condition, we thought it reasonable to fall upon a speedy resolution what was next to be done on our parts, in order to the accomplishment of our Voyage by land; which we hoped (by the Divine aid) we might be able to effect, after a little more refreshment by the plenty of victuals

allowed us by the King: who was no less indulgent and careful to feed and caress us, than if we had been his Children.

Towards Morning we were treated with a new regale, brought to us by the same fair hand again. It was a sort of Spoon meat, in colour and taste not unlike to Almond-Milk, tempered and mixed with boiled Rice. The ground still was *Indian* Corn boiled to a pap, which they call *Homini:* but the ingredient which performed the milky part, was nothing but dry *Pokickery Nuts*, beaten shells and all to powder; and they are like our Walnuts, but thicker shelled, and the kernel sweeter. But being beaten in a mortar, and put into a tray, hollowed in the middle to make place for fair water; no sooner is the water poured into the powder, but it rises again white and creamish; and after a little ferment, it does partake so much of the delicate taste of the Kernel of that Nut, that it becomes a rarity to a miracle.

Major *Morrison*, who had been almost at Death's door, found himself abundantly refreshed and comforted with this delicacy. He wished the bowl had been a fathom deep; and would say, when his stomach called on him for fresh supplies, that if this Princess Royal would give him his fill of that food, he should soon recover his strength.

Our Bodies growing vigorous with this plenty, we took new courage, and resolved (as many as were

able) to attempt the finding out of *Virginia*. We guessed the distance could not be great, and that it bore from us S. by W. to S. W. Our ignorance of the latitude we were in, was some discouragement to us; but we were confident, from what the Seamen discoursed, we were to the Southward of the *Menados*, then a *Dutch* plantation, now *New York:* Fair Weather and full Stomachs, made us willing to be gone. To that end we laid out for a quantity of *Pone;* and for our surer conduct, we resolved to procure an *Indian* to be our pilot through the Wilderness: for we were to expect many *Remoras* in our way, by Swamps and Creeks, with which all those Sea Coasts do abound.

The King remarking our more than ordinary care, to procure more bread than amounted to our usual expence, gathered thence our design to leave him, and shift for ourselves. To prevent the rashness and folly of such attempt, he made use of all his silent rhetorick to put us out of conceit of such design; and made us understand the peril and difficulty of it, by many obstacles we must meet with. He shewed us the danger we should expose ourselves unto, by Rain and Cold, Swamps and Darkness, unless we were conducted by other skill than we could pretend to. He pointed to his Fires and shocks of Corn, of which he had enough; and made it legible to us in his countenance, that we were welcome to it. All the signs the King made

upon this occasion, we were content to understand in the best sense; and taking for granted our sojourning there was renewed to another day, we retired to our quarters.

About Midnight following, the King sent to invite me to his Fire. He placed me near him, as before; and in the first place, shewing me quarters of a lean Doe, new brought in, he gave me a knife to cut what part of it I pleased; and then, pointing to the fire, I inferred, I was left to my own discretion for the dressing of it. I could not readily tell how to shew my skill in the cookery of it, with no better ingredients than appeared in sight; and so did no more but cut a Collop, and cast it on the coals. His Majesty laughed at my ignorance, and to instruct me better, he broached the Collop on a long scewer, thrust the sharp end into the ground (for there was no hearth but what nature made) and turning sometimes one side, and sometimes the other, to the Fire, it became fit in short time to be served up, had there been a dining-room of State such as that excellent King deserved. I made tender of it first to the King, and then to his Nobles, but all refused, and left all to me, who gave God and the King thanks for that great Meal. The rest of the Doe was cut in pieces, stewed in a pipkin, and then put into my hands to dispose of amongst my Company.

Assoon as I had dispatched this Midnight Veni-

son feast, and sent the rest to my Companions; the King was greatly desirous to make me comprehend, by our common dialect of Signs and Motions, the ingenious stratagem by which they use to take their Deer in the Winter Season; especially when the surface of the Earth is covered with Snow. He shewed me in the first place a small leather Thong, in which (said he) any kind of Deer should be invited to hamper himself, and lie fast tied on his back, until the engineer (or some body else for him) should take quiet possession of him. I could not conceive the particular structure of this Machine, so as to direct the making of it elsewhere: but thus much in the general I did understand. They would fasten a Pine green branch at the end of a Pole (such as Hops grow upon) which should lie athwart an Oak, like the pole of a Turner's lath; and the green hanging dingle-dangle at the Pole end, fastened by a string, it should be set at a heighth for a Deer to reach; but not without mounting, and resting on his hinder legs: that so in pulling the Branch, as at a trigger, the Machine discharging, his heels are struck up to fly in the air: and there he remains on his back, so straitly hampered, that the least Child may approach to touch and take him.

Before I parted, the King attacked me again, with reiterated attempts to be understood; and I thought by these three or four days Conversation,

I had the air of his expression much more clear and intelligible than at first. His chief drift for the first essay, seemed to be a desire to know, which way we were bound, whether North or South; to which I pointed to the South. This gave him much satisfaction: and, thereupon, steps in the little Grotman, before described, who by the motion of his hand seemed to crave my regard to what he was going about. He took up a Stick, with which he made divers circles by the fire-side; and then holding up his finger to procure my attention, he gave to every hole a name; and it was not hard to conceive, that the several holes were to supply the place of a Sea Chart, shewing the situation of all the most noted *Indian* Territories, that lay to the Southward of *Kickotank*. That Circle that was most Southerly, he called *Achomack;* which though he pronounced with a different accent from us, I laid hold on that Word with all demonstrations of satisfaction I could express: giving them to understand, that was the place to which I had a desire to be conducted.

The poor King was in a strange transport of joy to see me receive Satisfaction; and did forthwith cause a lusty young man to be called to him, to whom, by the earnestness of his motions, he seemed to give ample Instructions to do something for our service: but what it was, we were not yet able to resolve. In two or three days time, seeing no ef-

fect of what he had so seriously said, we began again to despond; and did therefore resume our former thoughts of putting ourselves in posture to be gone: but the King seeing us thus ready at every turn to leave him, shewed in his looks a more than ordinary resentment: still describing (as he could) the care he had taken for us, and impossibility of accomplishing our ends by ourselves; and that we should surely faint in the way, and die without help, if we would not be ruled by him. He shewed me again his Stores of Corn; and made such reiterated Signs, by the chearfulness of his Countenance, that we should not want, whilst he had such a plenty, as made us lay aside all thoughts of stirring till he said the word. But as oft as he looked or pointed to the Coast of *Achomack*, he would shake his head, with abundance of grimaces, in dislike of our design to go that way till he saw it good we should do so. I was abundantly convinced of our folly, in the resolution we were ready to take of going away, without better information of the distance from *Achomack*, and way that led to it; and having so frank a welcome where we were, we resolved to stay till the King should approve of our Departure: which he was not able to determine, till the Messenger came back, that he had sent to *Achomack*. Who, it now seemed more plainly, was dispatched upon my owning that place to be our Home; though we knew it not from

any cause we could rely upon, before we saw the effect.

While we lived in this Suspense, the King had a great mind to see our Fire-arms, and to be acquainted with the use and nature of them. That which best did please his eye, I presented to him, and shewed him how to load and discharge it. He was very shy at first essay, fearing it might hurt him: but I made him stand upon his lodging place; and putting him in a posture to give fire, he presented the mouth of his Gun to the Chimney hole, and so let fly. The combustible nature of the King's Palace not well considered, the fabrick was endangered by the King's own hand: for the flashing of the Powder having taken hold of the Roof, at the smoke-hole, all was in a flame. But a nimble lad, or two, ran up, to quench it; and did soon extinguish it without considerable damage to the building, which was of Mat, and boughs of Oak, as aforesaid.

The King's eldest Son, of about eighteen years of age, was hugely enamoured with our Guns; and looked so wistfully on me, when he saw what wonders they would do, that I could not forbear presenting him with a Birding-Piece. Some of our Company, who knew that by the Laws of *Virginia*, it was criminal to furnish the *Indians* with Fire-arms, gave me caution in this case: but I resolved, for once, to borrow a point of that law. For

though it might be of excellent use in the general, yet as our condition was, I esteemed it a much greater Crime, to deny those *Indians* any thing that was in our power, than the penalty of that law could amount to. Father and Son abundantly gratified in this manner, the King thought himself largely requited, for the cost we put him to in our entertainment. I taught his Son to shoot at Fowls, to charge his Gun and clean it: insomuch, that in a few minutes, he went among the flocks of Geese; and firing at random, he did execution on one of them to his great joy; and returned to his Father with the game in his hand, with such celerity, as if he had borrowed wings of the wind.

About three o'clock this Afternoon (*January* 24,) the King was pleased in great condescension to honour me with a Visit; a favour which I may (without vanity) assume to myself, and my better habit, from the many particular applications that he made to me, exclusive of the rest of the company. He thought I was too melancholy (for the *Indians*, as has been observed, are great enemies to that temper) and shewed me by his own chearful looks, what humour he would have put me on. He would not have me in the least apprehensive of wanting any thing his Country afforded, as his mien and gesture witnessed; and for the higher proof of his reality, he found me out a Divertisement, that was very extraordinary. He came at this time attended by his

young Daughter, who had done us the good offices before-mentioned; and having first by kind words, and pleasant gestures, given us renewed assurance of hearty Welcome, he singled me out, and pointed with his hand to a way he would have me take: but whither, or to what end, I was at liberty to guess. Upon that he produced his little Daughter, for my Conductrix to the place to which I should go, and shewed his desire that I should follow her where-ever she should lead me.

Major *Stephens*, not yet enough convinced of the *Indians* fidelity, would have discouraged me from leaving the Company in that manner; unreasonably fancying, that this was a contrivance in the King to take away my life in a private way. But this I thought did so much out-strip all his other senseless Jealousies, that after I had acknowledged the obligation I had to his care of my person; his needless caution had no other effect on me than to turn it into ridicule. These inordinate fears of this Major in three foregoing instances, might (I confess) have been very well omitted, as not worthy the mention; and so they should have been, had his humour and constitution in prosperous times, been any way suitable to this wary temper: but because his Habits on Shore were scandalously vicious, his mouth always belching Oaths, and his tongue proving him the vainest Hector I had seen; I thought

it was pity, to lose such a strong confirmation of that known Truth, (viz.) *That true innate Courage does seldom reside in the heart of a quarrelling and talking Hector.*

The Weather (as I have said) was excessive cold, with Frost; and the Winds blowing very fresh upon my face, it almost stopt my breath. The late condition I had been in under a Roof, with great Fires and much Smoke, did conduce to make me the more sensible of the cold Air: but in less than half an hour that pain was over. We were now in sight of the House whereto we were bound, and the Lady of the place was ready to receive us (who proved to be the mother of my Conductrix) and to shew me my Apartment in the middle of her House; which had the same accomodation to sit and rest upon, as before has been described in other instances.

The lusty rousing Fire prepared to warm me, would have been noble Entertainment of itself: but attended (as it was quickly) with good Food for the Belly, made it to be that compleat good Chear, I only aimed at. A wild Turkey boiled, with Oysters, was preparing for my Supper, which, when it was ready, was served up in the same pot that boiled it. It was a very savoury Mess, stewed with muscles; and I believe would have passed for a Delicacy at any great Table in *England*, by pa-

lates more competent to make a judgment than mine: which was now more gratified with the quantity, than the quality of what was before me.

This Queen was also of the same mould of her Majesty, whom we first met at our Landing Place. Somewhat ancient (in proportion to the King's age) but so gentle and compassionate, as did very bountifully requite all defects of Nature. She passed some hours at my Fire, and was very desirous to know the Occasion that brought us there (as her motion and the emphasis of her words did shew,) but I had small hopes to satisfy her Curiosity therein, after so many vain attempts to inform the King in that matter. In fine, I grew sleepy; and about nine o'clock every one retired to their quarters, separated from each other by traverses of Mat: which (besides their proper vertue) kept the Ladies from any immodest attempts, as secure as if they had been bars of iron.

Assoon as the Day peeped in, I went out and felt the same Cold as yesterday, with the same Wind, N. W. I was not forward to quit a warm Quarter, and a frank Entertainment. But my young Governess, who had her Father's orders for direction, knew better than myself what I was to do. She put herself in a posture to lead the way back from whence we came, after a very good repast of stewed Muscles, together with a very hearty welcome plainly appearing in the Queen's looks.

My nimble Pilot led me away with great swiftness, and it was necessary so to do: the Weather still continuing in that violent sharpness, nothing but a violent motion could make our limbs useful. No sooner had I set my foot in the King's House to visit my Comrades, but a wonderful surprize appeared to me in the change of every countenance; and as every face did plainly speak a general satisfaction, so did they with one voice explain the cause thereof, in telling me, the Messengers of our Delivery were arrived, and now with the King.

I hastened to see those angels; and addressing myself to one of them in *English* habit, asked him the occasion of his coming there? He told me his business was to trade for Furs, and no more: but assoon as I had told him my name, and the accidents of our being there, he acknowledged he came under the guidance of the *Kickotank Indian* (which I imagined, but was not sure the King had sent) in quest of me, and those that were left on Shore; sent by the Governor's order of *Virginia* to enquire after us, but knew not where to find us, till that *Indian* came to his House. He gave me a large account of the Ship's arrival, and the many dangers and difficulties she encountred before she could come into *James* River; where she ran ashore, resolving there to lay her bones. His name was *Jenkin Price:* he had brought an *Indian* of his neighbourhood with him, that was

very well acquainted in those parts, for our conduct back to *Achomack*, which *Indian* was called JACK.

The King was very glad of this happy success to us; and was impatient to learn something more of our history, than hitherto he had been able to extract from signs and grimaces. *Jenkin Price*, with his broken Indian, could make a shift to instruct JACK to say any thing he pleased; and JACK was the more capable to understand his meaning, by some sprinklings of *English*, that he had learnt at our Plantations. Betwixt them both, they were able to satisfy the King in what he pleased to know. JACK told them, of himself, what a mighty Nation we were in that Country; and gave them caution, not to imbezzle any Goods we had brought with us, for fear of an after-reckoning. I wondered, upon this serious Discourse he had with the King, to see Guns, and Stockings, and whatever trifles we had given, offered to be returned; and being told the reason of it, by *Jenkin Price*, I was very much ashamed of JACK's too great zeal in our Service. Which, though it did proceed from a principle of Honesty, and good Morality in him, we were to consider, that our dearest lives, and all we could enjoy in this World, was (next to Divine Providence) owing to the Virtue and Charity of this King; and therefore, not only what they had in possession, but whatever else he should de-

sire, that was in my power, would be too mean an Acknowledgment for so high Obligations. I took care to let them know, that I had no hand in the Menace by which JACK brought them to refund what they had got of us: the right understanding whereof increased our good intelligence, and became a new endearment of Affection betwixt us.

By better acquaintance with these our Deliverers, we learned, that we were about fifty *English* miles from *Virginia*. That part of it where *Jenkin* did govern, was called *Littleton's Plantation*, and was the first *English* ground we did expect to see. He gave me great encouragement to endure the length of the way, by assuring me, I should not find either Stone, or Shrub, to hurt my Feet thorow my thin-soaled Boots; for the whole Colony had neither Stone nor Underwood: And having thus satisfied my curiosity, in the knowledge of what *Jenkin Price* could communicate, we deferred no longer to resolve how and when to begin our journey to *Achomack*.

The *Indian* he brought with him (who afterwards lived and died my Servant) was very expert, and a most incomparable Guide in the Woods we were to pass: being a Native of those parts, so that he was as our Sheet Anchor in this our peregrination. The King was loth to let us go till the Weather was better-tempered for our bodies: but when he saw we were fully resolved, and had pitched

upon the next Morning to begin our journey, he found himself much defeated in a purpose he had taken, to call together all the flower of his Kingdom, to entertain us with a Dance: to the end that nothing might be omitted on his part for our divertisement, as well as our nourishment, which his small Territory could produce. Most of our Company would gladly have deferred our march a day longer, to see this Masquerade: but I was wholly bent for *Achomack*, to which place I was to dance almost on my bare feet. The thoughts of which, took off the edge I might otherwise have had to Novelties of that kind.

When the good old King saw we were fully determined to be gone the next Day, he desired, as a Pledge of my Affection to him, that I would give him my camblet Coat; which he vowed to wear whilst he lived for my sake. I shook hands, to shew my willingness to please him, in that, or in any other thing he would command; and was the more willing to do myself the honour of compliance in this particular, because he was the first King, I could call to mind, that had ever shewed any inclinations to wear my Old Cloaths.

To the young Princess, that had so signally obliged me, I presented a piece of two-penny scarlet Ribbon, and a *French* Tweezer, that I had in my pocket, which made her skip for joy; and to shew, how little she fancied our way of carrying

them concealed; she retired apart for some time, and taking out every individual piece of which it was furnished, she tied a snip of Ribbon to each, and so came back with Scissars, Knives, and Bodkins, hanging at her Ears, Neck and Hair. The Case itself was not excused, but bore a part in this new dress; and, to the end we might not part, without leaving deep impressions of her beauty on our minds, she had prepared on her fore-fingers, a lick of paint on each; the colours (to my best remembrance) green and yellow; which at one motion she discharged on her Face, beginning upon her Temples, and continuing it, in an oval line downwards, as far as it would hold out. I could have wished this young Princess would have contented herself with what nature had done for her, without this addition of Paint (which, I thought, made her more fulsome, than handsome) but I had reason to imagine, the Royal Family were only to use this Ornament, exclusive of all others, for that I saw none other of her sex so set off: and this conceit made it turn again, and appear lovely, as all things should do that are honoured with the royal stamp. I was not furnished with any thing upon the place, fit to make a return to the two Queens, for the great charity they used to feed and warm me; but when I came into a place where I could be supplied, I was not wanting that way, according to my power.

VI. Early next Morning we put ourselves in posture to be gone (*viz.*) Major *Stephens*, Myself, and three or four more, whose names are worn out of my mind. Major *Morrison* was so far recovered, as to be heart-whole; but he wanted strength to go thro' so great a labour, as this was like to prove. We left him, with some others, to be brought in Boats that the Governor had ordered for their accomodation; and with them the two weak Women, who were much recovered, by the good care and nourishment they received in the poor Fisherman's House.

Breakfast being done, and our Pilot JACK ready to set out, we took a Solemn Leave of the good King. He inclosed me in his arms, with kind embraces, not without expressions of Sorrow to part, beyond the common rate of new acquaintance. I made JACK pump up his best Compliments, which at present was all I was capable to return to the King's kindness; and so, after many '*Hana haes*,' we parted.

We were not gone far, till the Fatigue and Tediousness of the Journey discovered itself in the many Creeks we were forced to head, and Swamps to pass (like *Irish* Bogs,) which made the way at least double to what it would have amounted to in a strait light: And it was our wonder to see our Guide JACK lead on the way, with the same confidence of going right, as if he had had a *London* Road to keep him from straying. Howbeit, he

would many times stand still, and look about for Land-Marks; and, when on one hand, and the other, his Marks bore right for his direction, he would shew himself greatly satisfied. As to the purpose, an old deformed Tree that lay North-west, opposite to a small hammock of Pines to the South-east, would evidence his going right in all Weathers. It is true, they know not the Compass by the Load-stone; but, which is equivalent, they never are ignorant of the North-west Point, which gives them the rest; and that they know, by the weather-beaten Moss, that grows on that side of every Oak, different from the rest of the Tree; which is their Compass. Towards Evening we saw Smoak (an infallible sign of an *Indian* town,) which JACK knew to arise from *Gingo Teague*. We went boldly into the King's House (by advice of his Brother of *Kickotank*,) who was also a very humane Prince. What the Place and Season produced, was set before us with all convenient speed; which was enough to satisfy Hunger, and to fit us for Repose.

I was extremely tired with this tedious Journey; and it was the more irksome to me, because I performed it in Boots (my shoes being worn out,) which at that time were commonly worn to walk in: so that I was much more sleepy than I had been hungry. The alliance I had newly made at *Kickotank*, did already stand me in some stead; for that it qualified me to a Lodging apart, and gave me a

first taste of all we had to eat; tho' the Variety was not so great as I had seen in other Courts.

And yet (as we see in all worldly Honours) this Grandeur of mine was not without its allay; for as it gave me accomodation of eating, and sleeping, in preference to my Comrades, so did it raise the hopes of the Royal Progeny, of Gifts and Presents, beyond what I was either able or willing to afford them: for when I would have taken my Rest, I was troubled beyond measure with their Visits, and saw by their carriage what they would be at. Wherefore, to free myself of further disturbance, and to put myself out of the pains of denials; I resolved to comply with the necessities of Nature, which pressed me hard to sleep: and to that end, I took the freedom, by JACK, to desire they would all withdraw until I found myself refreshed.

I passed the Night till almost day-break, in one intire Sleep; and when I did awake (not suddenly able to collect who, or where I was,) I found myself strangely confounded, to see a Damsel placed close to my side, of no meaner extract than the King's eldest Daughter; who had completely finished the Rape of all the gold and silver Buttons that adorned the King of *Kickotank*'s Coat, yet on my back. When I was broad awake, and saw this was no Enchantment (like those Trances, Knights Errant use to be in,) but that I was really despoiled of what was not in my power to dispense withal; I

called for JACK, and made him declare my Resentment, and much Dislike of this Princess's too great Liberty upon so small Acquaintance; which made me have a mean opinion of her. JACK shewed more anger than myself, to see such usage by any of his Country; and much more was he scandalized, that one of the blood Royal should purloin. But the King, upon notice of the Fact, and Party concerned in it, immediately caused the Buttons to be found out, and returned, with no slight reprimand to his Daughter, and then all was well; and so much the better by the gift of such small Presents, as I was able to make to the King and Princess. Breakfast was given us, and we hastened to proceed in our Journey to *Achomack*.

The uneasiness of Boots to travel in, made me by much the more weary of the former day's Journey; and caused me to enter very unwillingly upon this second Day's work. We reckoned ourselves about twenty-five miles distant from *Jenkin*'s House. It pleased God to send us dry Weather, and not excessive cold. We had made provision of *Pone*, to bait on by the way, and we found good water to refresh us; but all this did not hinder my being tired, and spent almost to the last degree. JACK very kindly offered his service, to carry me on his shoulders (for I was brought to a moderate weight, by the strict diet I had been in,) but that would have been more uneasy to me, in contempla-

tion of his more than double pains; and so I resolved to try my utmost strength, without placing so great a weight on his shoulders.

The hopes of seeing *English* ground in *America*, and that in so short a time as they made us expect, did animate my spirits to the utmost point. JACK fearing the worst, was of opinion, that we should call at his Aunt's Town, the Queen of *Pomumkin*, not far out of the way: but *Jenkin Price* opposed that motion, and did assure me our Journey's end was at hand. His words, and my own inclination, carried the question; and I resolved by God's help, that Night to sleep at *Jenkin*'s House. But the Distance proving yet greater, than had been described, and my Boots trashing me almost beyond all sufferance; I became desperate, and ready to sink and lie down. *Jenkin* lulled me on still with words that spurred me to the quick; and would demonstrate the little distance betwixt us and his Plantation, by the sight of Hogs and Cattle; of which species the *Indians* were not masters. I was fully convinced of what he said; but would however have consented to a motion of lying without doors on the ground, within two or three flights shot of the place, to save the labour of so small a remainder.

The close of the Evening, and a little more patience (thro' the infinite goodness of the Almighty) did put a happy period to our cross Adventure. A large Bed of sweet Straw was spread

ready in *Jenkin*'s House for our reception; upon which I did hasten to extend and stretch my wearied limbs. And being thus brought into safe Harbour by the many miracles of Divine Mercy, from all the Storms and Fatigues, Perils and Necessities, to which we had been exposed by Sea and Land for almost the space of four Months; I cannot conclude this Voyage in more proper terms, than the Words that are the burthen of that Psalm of Providence, *O that Men would therefore praise the Lord for his Goodness, and for his wondrous works unto the Children of Men!*

Our Landlord, *Jenkin Price*, and Conductor JACK, took great care to provide Meat for us; and there being a Dairy and Hens, we could not want. As for our Stomachs, they were open at all hours to eat whate'er was set before us, assoon as our wearied Bodies were refreshed with Sleep. It was on Saturday the —— day of *January*, that we ended this our wearisome Pilgrimage, and entred into our King's dominions at *Achomak*, called by the *English*, *Northampton* County; which is the only County on that side of the bay, belonging to the Colony of *Virginia*, and is the best of the whole for all sorts of Necessaries for human life.

Having been thus refreshed in *Jenkin*'s House this Night, with all our hearts could wish; on the next Morning, being *Sunday*, we would have been glad to have found a Church for the perform-

ance of our Duty to God; and to have rendred our hearty thanks to Him in the Publick Assembly, for His unspeakable Mercies vouchsafed to us: but we were not yet arrived to the heart of the Country, where there were Churches, and Ministry performed, as our Laws direct; but were glad to continue our own Chaplains, as formerly. As we advanced into the Plantations, that lay thicker together, we had our choice of Hosts for our entertainment, without money or its value. In which we did not begin any novelty, for there are no Inns in the Colony, nor do they take other payment for what they furnish to Coasters, but by requital of such Courtesies, in the same way, as occasions offer.

When I came to the House of one *Stephen Charlton*, he did not only outdo all that I had visited before him, in variety of dishes at his Table, which was very well order'd in the kitchen; but would also oblige me to put on a good Farmer-like Suit of his own wearing Cloaths, for exchange of my dirty habit; and this gave me opportunity to deliver my camblet Coat to JACK, for the use of my brother of *Kickotank*; with other things, to make it worth his Acceptance.

Having been thus frankly entertained at Mr. *Charlton*'s, our Company were in condition to take care for themselves. We took leave of each other; and my next stage was to Esquire *Yardly*, a gentleman

of good name, whose Father had sometimes been Governor of *Virginia*. There I was received and treated, as if I had in truth, and reality, been that man of honour, my brother of *Kickotank* had created me. It fell out very luckily for my better Welcome, that he had not long before brought over a Wife from *Rotterdam*, that I had known almost from a Child. Her Father (*Custis* by name) kept a Victualling House in that town, lived in good repute, and was the general Host of our Nation there. The Esquire, knowing I had the honour to be the Governor's Kinsman, and his Wife knowing my conversation in *Holland;* I was received and caressed more like a Domestick and near Relation, than a man in Misery, and a Stranger. I stayed there for a Passage over the Bay, about ten days; welcomed and feasted not only by the Esquire and his Wife, but by many Neighbours that were not too remote.

About the midst of *February*, I had an opportunity to cross the Bay in a Sloop; and with much ado landed in *York* River, at Esquire *Ludlow*'s Plantation, a most pleasant Situation. I was civilly received by him, who presently ordered an accomodation for me in a most obliging manner. But it fell out at that time, that Captain *Wormly* (of his Majesty's Council) had guests in his house, not a furlong distant from Mr. *Ludlow*'s, feasting and carousing, that were lately come from *Eng-*

land; and most of them my intimate acquaintance. I took a sudden leave of Mr. *Ludlow*, thanked him for his kind Intentions to me; and using the common freedom of the Country, I thrust myself amongst Captain *Wormly*'s Guests, in crossing the Creek, and had a kind reception from them all, which answered (if not exceeded) my expectation. Sir *Thomas Lundsford*, Sir *Henry Chickly*, Sir *Philip Honywood*, and Colonel *Hamond*, were the persons I met there, and enjoyed that Night with very good chear; but left them early the next Morning, out of a passionate desire I had to see the Governor, whose care for my preservation had been so full of kindness.

Captain *Wormly* mounted me for *James Town;* where the Governor was pleased to receive and take me to his house at *Green-Spring*, and there I passed my hours (as at mine own house) until *May* following. At which time, he sent me for *Holland* to find out the King, and to sollicite his Majesty for the Treasurer's place of *Virginia;* which the Governor took to be void by the delinquency of *Claybourne*, who had long enjoyed it. He furnished me with a sum of money to bear the charge of this Sollicitation; which took effect, tho' the King was then in *Scotland*. He was not only thus kind to me (who had a more than ordinary pretence to his favour by our near affinity in blood,) but, on many occasions, he shewed great respect

to all the Royal Party, who made that Colony their refuge. His House, and Purse, were open to all that were so qualified. To one of my Comrades (Major *Fox*,) who had no Friend at all to subsist on, he shewed a generosity that was like himself; and to my other (Major *Morrison*) he was more kind; for he did not only place him in the command of the Fort, which was profitable to him whilst it held under the King, but did advance him after to the Government of the Country, wherein he got a competent Estate.

And thus (by the good Providence of a gracious God, who helpeth us in our low Estate, and causeth his Angels to pitch Tents round about them that trust in Him) have I given as faithful an Account of this Signal Instance of His Goodness, to the miserable Objects of his mercy in this Voyage, as I have been able to call to a clear remembrance.

APPENDIX.

I. THE HON. R. BOYLE'S HISTORY OF COLD.

(Ed. 4to. 1772. Vol. II, p. 507, referred to, p. 6.)

IN this curious and scientific History, the HON. R. BOYLE *has collected many Facts, that will prove equally interesting and serviceable to such Navigators, as are exposed to the extreme Cold of high Polar Latitudes. The limits of this Volume barely admit of my referring to this valuable Treatise, and extracting a few Remarks, which will add additional Interest to Captain James's Narrative.*

I. "To go methodically to work, we should, perhaps, begin with considering, what Subjects are capable, or not capable, of harbouring the quality we are to treat of; and to invite us to this, it seems probable enough, that among the Bodies, we are conversant with here below, there is scarce any, except Fire, that is not, at some time or other, susceptible of actual Cold (at least as to Sense). And even concerning Fire itself, 'till that difficulty be clearly determined, which we have elsewhere started; namely, *Whether Fire be not, as Wind, (at least like such as is made by Air blown out of a pair of Bellows,) rather a state of Matter, or Matter considered whilst it is in such a kind of motion, than a distinct and particular species of natural Bodies,* there may remain some doubt; since we see, that Bodies, which may be either in a moment, as Gunpowder, or (or as far as sense can judge) totally, as high rectified

Spirit of Wine, turned into Fire, may yet immediately before their accension, be actually cold: and as to Gunpowder, presently after accension, its scattered parts caught in closed Vessels, will also appear cold to the touch.

II. " About the freezing of common expressed Oils, I know not well what to determine ...Whether such Oils will be turned into true (by which I mean) hard and brittle Ice, is a Question scarce to be determined by any Experiments we can make here in *England;* and for the Relations of those, that have lived in colder Countries, I find them to disagree: for when I asked an ingenious Man, that had lived some years in *Muscovy,* and was Physician to the great Monarch of that Empire, *How far he had known Oil congealed in Muscovy?* he answered me—"That it did there freeze much harder than in our Climate, but would not, that he had observed, be turned into true, and perfect Ice." On the other hand, I find the Testimony of that ingenious Navigator *Captain James,* who relating the effects of Cold he met with in the Island, where he and his Men were forced to winter; does in one Place reckon Oil among the Liquors, such as Vinegar and Sack, that even in their House was firmly frozen. (See preceding page 269, l. 17, and page 277, l. 15.)

III. " It is very remarkable, that though not only the Solutions of other gross Salt, but divers more saline and spirituous Liquors, are brought by Snow and Salt to Congelation; yet a Brine made very strong of common Salt, could not be brought to freeze at all, though we kept it exposed with the other saline Solutions, that did freeze, during a whole Night, that was exceeding sharp.

IV. " After noticing the manner, in which the Spirit and

Taste of Beer and other Liquors, belonging to such Navigators, as wintered in the North Polar Regions, were destroyed by Frost, and the effect which excessive Cold has upon Timber, and other solid Bodies; Mr. Boyle adds—"I remember that a learned Man told me, That in a Northren Country, less cold than *Muscovy*, he had observed, that Beef having been very long frozen, when it came afterwards to be eaten, was almot insipid; and being boiled, afforded a Broth little better than common Water....An ingenious Overseer of great Buildings has informed me, that those who deal in Timber and other Wood, find it much more easy to be cleft in hard Frosts, than in ordinary Weather....We must not deny, that extreme Colds may be able to shatter or dissolve the texture of as close and solid bodies as Bricks, especially if the aqueous moisture be not sufficiently driven away; if we will admit, what I have out of a very learned and credible Author, of the power, that a freezing degree of Cold has had to break even solid Marble."

V. "I confess I doubt, that not only in the Examples we have alledged, but in other eminent ones of Mountains of Ice, if I may so call them, there may be a mistake; and that the height of them above the Water would be far less, and the depth under Water far greater, if the Ice had water enough to swim freely. For Seamen, by reason of the difficulty, are not wont to measure the Height of those Pieces, that float at liberty in the Sea. And as for those, that are on ground, as their Heights lie far more convenient to be measured, so the measurers not knowing how long they have been on ground, for aught I know, much of that admired Height may be attributed to the Snows, that from time to time fall very plentifully in those frozen Regions,

and are compacted together, either by the Sun, whose beams sometimes begin to thaw it, and sometimes by the water of the Waves that beat against the Ice, and being congealed with the Snow, does as it were cement the parts of it together, and sometimes by both of these Causes. So in the Instance alledged out of Captain *James*, "of pieces of Ice, *that were twice as high as his Top mast head*" (Page 224.) it is said also, *that they were aground in* 40 *fathom*. So that as on the one side it seems probable, that the upper part of Islands of Ice may be increased by Snow; and, as I remember, that in that famously inquisitive Navigator, Mr. *Hudson*'s Voyage for the Discovery of a N.W. Passage, it is related, That his Company was 'so well acquainted with the Ice, that when Night, or foggy or foul Weather took them, they would seek out the broadest Islands of Ice, and there come to anchor, and run and sport, and fill water that stood on the Ice in Ponds very fresh and good' (Page 109.) So on the other side we know not, how much lower Captain *James's* Ice would have reached into the Sea, in case the ground it rested on, had not hindred it.

VI. "Another effect, that the Cold, especially in Northern Countries, has oftentimes upon the Atmosphere, is, The making the Air more or less clear than usually it is.... Probably because the Cold, by condensing, precipitates the Vapours, that thicken the Air, and by freezing the surface of the Earth, keeps in the Steams, that would else arise to thicken the Air. Not to dispute, whether it may not also somewhat repress the Vapours, that would be afforded by the Water itself; since some of our Navigators observe, that even when it was not cold enough to freeze the surface of the Sea, it would so far chill and infrigidate it, that the

Snow would lie on it without melting.—Here in *England* we usually observe the sharpest frosty Nights to be the clearest. But to confirm our Observation, by a very remarkable Instance, I shall borrow it from a Navigator very curious of Celestial Observations; which Circumstance I mention, to bring the greater credit to the following Observation of Captain *James*. *The 30th and 31st of January*, &c. (Page 274, l. 12.)

" To determine what Effect the Coldness of the Air may have upon the Refractions of the Luminaries and other Stars, I look upon as a Work of no small difficulty, and that would require much consideration, as well as Time.... As for that extremely cold Country, where Captain *James* wintered, it appears by his Journal, that he there made divers Celestial, and other Observations, which gave him opportunity to take notice of the Refraction; and he seems to complain, that he found it very great.... In regard of the extreme Coldness of the Winter Air in *Charlton Island*, it may be worth while to take notice of the following Passages out of his Journal; since they may at least help us to conjecture, what is not to be expected in reference to Refractions from the Coldness of the Air as such. (* Page 274. l. 1.) Which last Clause, *This difference is by reason, that here is a great Refraction*, is very obscure, unless it refers, as one may guess it does, to what he had elsewhere said: *That on his first coming to the Island he took the Latitude with two quadrants, and found it to be* 52°. (Page 254.) &c....I shall add one Passage more out of our Author, concerning Refractions, not only because it may bear Testimony to some relations

* Mr. Boyle, according to the Copy before me, has been rather incorrect in this quotation.

of the like kind, that I have mentioned in another Treatise; but because it is concluded with an Observation, that (if there be nothing of mistake in it) is odd enough. *I had often observed the difference betwixt clear Weather*, &c. (Page 231. l. 19.)

VII. 1. *The greater or lesser Coldness of the Air, in several Climates, and Countries, is nothing near so regularly proportionate to their respective distances from the Pole, or their vicinity to the Equator, as Men are wont to presume.*

"*Charlton Island* tho' it seems by the effects to be as cold a region as *Nova Zembla* itself, yet Captain *James* assigns it the same elevation, and consequently the same distance from the Pole, with *Cambridge*. But in *Hudson*'s Voyage I find, what is more strange, that under the 81 degree of Latitude, beyond which they discovered Land very far off, *They found it during the whole day clear Weather, with little Wind, and reasonably warm:* And beyond 80 degrees, they not only found a Stream or two of fresh Water, *but found it hot on the Shore, and drank Water to cool their Thirst, which they also commended.*

2. *The degrees both of Heat and Cold in the Air, may be much greater in the same Climate, and the same Place, at several Seasons of the Year, or even at several times of the same Day, than most Men would believe.*

"Touching the diversity of Weather in *Greenland*, Mr. *Hebey* informed *Purchas*, 'That one day it hath been so cold (the Wind blowing out of some quarter) that they could scarce handle the frozen Sails; another day so hot, that the Pitch melted off the Ship, so that hardly they could keep their Cloths from pollution: yea, he hath seen at Midnight tobacco lighted or fired by the Sun beams with

a Glass.' The other Example is no less remarkable: namely, that in the often mentioned place, *Charlton Island*, where that Winter was as sharp, perhaps, as any known place of the habitable World, Captain *James* gives us this account of the Weather: *June the sixteenth was wondrous hot*, &c. (Page 296. l. 4.) A remarkable instance of the very great disparities in the Heat and Coldness of the Air, within the compass of the same Day, is also afforded by the same Journal. *The Season here in this Climate, is most unnatural*, &c. (Page 302, l. 11.)

3. *In many Places the Temperature of the Air, as to Cold and Heat, seems not to depend so much upon the Elevation of the Pole, as upon the nature and circumstances of the Winds, that blow there.*

It is a known observation in these parts of the World, that N. and N.E. Winds do at all times of the Year bring Cold along with them, and commonly, if it be Winter, Frost. ...Whence Winds should have this Power to change the constitution of the Air, and especially to bring cold along with them, is not so easy to be determined. "The Weather, says Captain *James*, was snowy and foggy, freezing our Rigging, and making every thing so slippery, that a Man can scarce stand; and all this with the Wind Southerly." (Not inserted in the present Volume, appears under August 26, 1632.) Another passage considerable to our present purpose (not inserted in the present Volume). "The Winds since we came hither, have been very variable, and unconstant, and till within this fortnight, the southerly Wind was coldest. The reason I conceive to be, for that it did blow from the main Land, which was all covered with Snow, and for that the North Winds came out of the great Bay, which hitherto was open."

VIII. "Of the Power of Cold, either to straiten the Sphere of Activity of Fire, or to hinder its wonted Effects, the chief Examples I have met with, are recorded, partly by the *Dutch* in *Nova Zembla*, and partly by Captain *James*. Though he wintered in a Country many degrees remoter from the Pole, than *Nova Zembla*, yet in one place he gives us this account of the Cold's Power to restrain or oppose the Action of Fire." *The Cook's Tuls*, (Page 277.)

IX. "I met with an odd Passage in Captain *James's* Voyage, which, if it had been circumstantially enough set down, might prove of moment in reference to the Weight of bodies frozen and unfrozen; and therefore, though I would not build any thing on it, yet I shall not omit it. *The ninth, we hoisted out our Beer, and Cyder, and made a Raft of it*, &c." (Page 295. l. 6.)

II. *Captain James's Observations on a N. Passage into the South Sea.*

(*Referred to Page* 324.)

What hath been long ago fabled by some *Portuguese*, that should have come this way out of the *South-Sea;* the meer shadows of whose mistaken Relations have come to us; I leave to be confuted by their own vanity. These Hopes have stirred up from time to time, the more active spirits of this our Kingdom, to research that merely imaginary Passage. For my own part, I give no credit to them at all; and as little to the vicious and abusive wits of later *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, who never speak of any Difficulties, as Should Water, Ice, nor sight of Land, but as if they had been brought home in a Dream or Engine. And indeed their Discourses are found absurd, and the

Plots (by which some of them have practised to deceive the World) meer Falsities, making Sea where there is known to be main Land, and Land where is nothing but Sea.

Most certain it is, that by the only Industry of our own Nation, those Northern parts of *America* have been discovered to the latitude of 80 degrees, and upwards. And it hath been so curiously done (the labours of several men being joined together) that the Main Land hath been both seen and searcht, and they have brought this supposed Passage to this pass, that it must be to the North of 66 degrees of Latitude. A cold Clime pestered with Ice and other Discommodities, and where the *Spaniards'* dispositions and their weak speeke Ships can hardly long endure it. And withal it is thus known, that the Entrance of *Hudson's Streights* is but fifteen leagues broad; in the middle not so much; and betwixt *Salisbury* Island and the Main, that it is but eight leagues. Then proceeding to the Northwards, towards the forementioned latitude, it is but fifteen leagues from Main to Main. This in length is but about 140 leagues, as may more plainly appear by the Map. Most infinitely pestered withal, it is with the Ice until *August*, and some years not passable then: Yea I believe the Streight is never clear of Ice thorowly.

Now most probable it is, that there is no Passage, and that for these Reasons following:

First, That there is a constant Tide flood and ebb setting into *Hudson's Streights;* the flood still coming from the Eastward; which as it proceeds (correspondent to the distance) it alters his time of full Sea. This also entering into Bays, and broken Ground, it becomes distracted, and reverses with half tides.

Secondly, Here is no small Fish, as Cod, &c. and very few great ones, which are rarely to be seen; nor are there any bones of Whales, Sea Horses, or other great Fish to be found on the Shore, nor any drift Wood.

Thirdly, That we found the Ice in the latitude of 65° 30′, to be lying all over the Sea in rands; and I am most certain, that the Shoalds and Shoald Bays are the mother of it. Had there now been any Ocean beyond it, it would have been broke all to pieces; for so we found it coming thorow the Streight into the Sea to the Eastward.

Fourthly, The Ice seeks his way to the Eastward, and so drives out at *Hudson's Streights*, which I have often observed, being a land upon the Island of Resolution, and driving amongst the Ice in the Streight.

Now admit there were a Passage, yet it is known, that it is partly narrow, for 140 leagues, and to be infinitely pestered with Ice withal, as every one have found who have gone that way. Comparing therefore some Observations taken at *Bantam*, *Gulolo*, and at *Firando*, in *Japan*, and the Western part of *Califurnia*, with the Observations taken at *Charlton* Island (referring all to the meridian of *London*,) and then the distance betwixt the meridians of Cape *Charles*, and the western part of *Califurnia;* will be found to be about 500 leagues in the latitude of 66°, where yet the Meridians incline very much together.

To this may be added, that near about Cape *Charles*, the Variation is 29 degrees to the West: which is a probable Argument that there is much Land to the Westward, and that this Streight must be very long; and that you have no time to pass it, but in *August* and *September*, when the Nights are so long, and the Weather so cold, that it will not be indurable.

Add to this, that neither can any great Ships, which are fit for carrying of Merchandize, indure the Ice, and other discommodities, without extraordinary Danger.

Moreover, a thousand Leagues is sooner sailed to the Southward, and about the Cape *de Bona Speranza* (where the Winds are constant) and that with safety; than an hundred in these Seas, where you must daily run the hazard of losing Ship and Lives: Put hereunto that comfort for the Sick, or refreshing for your men, here is none to be had in these quarters.

Towards the later end of *August*, and in *September*, the Weather grows tempestuous, and the Winds incline to be Westerly, that there will be but small hope of performing your Voyage this way.

But let us (by way of imagination only) inlarge this Streight, in this Latitude, and free it of Ice; yet what advantage, in speedy performanee, will be gotten by this Passage, if the Winds be withal considered? To *Japan*, *China*, and the Northern parts of *Asia*, it may be the nearer cut; but in Navigation, the farthest way about is well known, in fewer days to be performed, yea with lesser pains, and more safety of Ship, and Goods.

Again: to the *East Indies* and other parts, where we have the greatest Commerce and employment of Shipping, the other way is as near. What benefit of Trade might have been obtained in those Northern parts of *Asia*, I will not presume to speak of; holding that there is a great difference betwixt those parts and the Northern parts of *America;* whereas I am sure that there is none in any place, where I have been all this Voyage.

(III.) *Captain James's Remarks on the Accumulation of Ice in Hudson's Bay, (Jan. 1632.)*

(Referred to at Page 274.)

I Hope it will not seem tedious, if I here deliver mine own Opinion, how this abundance of Ice comes to be ingendered.

The Land that encircles this great Bay (*Hudson's Bay*) which lies in a broken irregular form, making many little shoald Bays and Guts, being moreover full of Islands and dry Sands; is for the most part low and flat, and hath flat Shoalds adjoining to it, half a mile or a mile, that are dry at low Water. Now you must know, that it flows half Tide (as I have often experienced) that is; from whence the Flood cometh, the water thither returneth, two hours before it be high Water or full Sea. It seldom rains after the middle of *September*, but snows, and that Snow will not melt on the Land, nor Sands. At low water when it snows, which it doth very often, the Sands are all covered over with it; which the half Tide carries officiously, twice in 24 hours, into the great Bay, which is the common rendezvous of it. Every low water are the Sands left clear, to gather more to the increase of it. Thus does it daily gather together in this manner, till the latter end of *October*; and by that time hath it brought the Sea to that coldness, that as it snows, the Snow will lie upon the water in flakes without changing its colour, but with the wind is wrought together; and as the Winter goes forward, it begins to freeze on the surface of it, two or three inches or more in one Night: which being carried with the half Tide, meets with some obstacle (as it soon doth) and then it crumples

and so runs upon itself, that in a few hours it will be five or six foot thick. The half Tide still flowing, carries it so fast away, that by *December* it is grown to an infinite multiplication of Ice. And thus by this storing of it up, the Cold gets the predomination in the Sea (which also furnisheth the Springs and Water in the low flat Lands) that it cools it like itself.

(IV.) The Effects of Cold; with Observations of the Longitude, Latitude, and Declination of the Magnetic Needle, at Prince of Wales' Fort, on Churchill River in Hudson's Bay, North America. By Captain Christopher Middleton, F. R. S. 1741-2.

(Philos. Trans. No. 465. Baldwin's Abridgement, Vol. VIII. P. 591.)

CAPT. Middleton observed, that the Hares, Rabbits, Foxes, and Partridges, in *September*, and the beginning of *October*, changed their native colour to a snowy white; and that for six months, in the severest part of Winter, he never saw any but what were all white, except some Foxes of a different sort, which were grizzled, and some half red, half white.

That Lakes and standing Waters, which are not above 10 or 12 feet deep, are frozen to the ground in Winter, and the Fishes in them all perish. Yet in Rivers near the Sea, and Lakes of a greater depth, than 10 or 12 feet, Fishes are caught all the Winter, by cutting holes through the Ice down to the Water, and putting Lines and Hooks in them. But if they are to be taken with Nets, they cut several holes in a straight line the length of the Net, and pass the Net, with a stick fastened to the head line, from Hole to Hole,

till it reaches the utmost extent; and what Fishes come to these holes for air, are entangled in the Net; and these Fish, as soon as brought into the open air, are instantly frozen as stiff as Stockfish. The Seamen freshen their Salt Provisions, by cutting a large Hole through the Ice in the stream or tide of the River; which they do at the beginning of the Winter, and keep it open all that Season. In this Hole they put their Salt Meat, and the minute it is immersed under Water, it becomes pliable and soft, though before its immersion it was hard frozen.

Beef, Pork, Mutton, and Venison, that are killed at the beginning of the Winter, are preserved by the Frost for 6 or 7 Months, entirely free from Putrefaction; and prove tolerably good eating. Likewise Geese, Partridges, and other Fowl, that are killed at the same time, and kept with their feathers on, and guts in, require no other preservative, but the Frost, to make them good wholesome eating, as long as the Winter continues. All kinds of Fish are preserved in the like manner.

In large Lakes and Rivers, the Ice is sometimes broken by imprisoned Vapours; and the Rocks, Trees, Joists, and Rafters of our Buildings, are burst with a noise not less terrible than the firing of a great many Guns together. The Rocks which are split by the Frost, are heaved up in great heaps, leaving large cavities behind; which may be caused by imprisoned watery Vapours, that require more room, when frozen, than they occupy in their fluid state. Neither is it wonderful that the Frost should be able to tear up Rocks and Trees, and split the beams of our Houses, when we consider its great force and elasticity. If Beer or Water be left in Mugs, Cans, Bottles, or copper Pots, though they were put by our Bedsides, in a severe Night

they are surely split to pieces before Morning, not being able to withstand the expansive force of the inclosed Ice.

The Air is filled with innumerable particles of Ice, very sharp and angular, and plainly perceptible to the naked eye. Capt. M. several times tried to make Observations of some celestial bodies, particularly the emersions of Jupiter's Satellites with reflecting and refracting Teleseopes: but the Metals and Glasses by the time he could fix them to the object, were covered a quarter of an inch thick with Ice, which rendered the object indistinct; so that it is not without great difficulties that any Observations can be taken.

Bottles of strong Beer, Brandy, strong Brine, Spirits of Wine, set out in the open air for 3 or 4 hours, freeze to solid Ice. He tried to get the Sun's refraction to every degree above the horizon, with Elton's Quadrant, but to no purpose, for the spirits froze almost as soon as brought into open air.

The Frost is never out of the ground; how deep cannot be certain. They have dug down 10 or 12 feet, and found the Earth hard frozen in the two summer months; and what moisture is found 5 or 6 feet down, is white like Ice. The Waters or Rivers near the Sea, where the Current of the tide flows strong, do not freeze above 9 or 10 feet deep.

All the Water used for Cooking, Brewing, &c. is melted Snow and Ice; no Spring is yet found free from freezing, though dug ever so deep down. All waters inland are frozen fast by the beginning of *October*, and continue so till the middle of *May*.

The Walls of the House they lived in are of stone, two feet thick, the Windows very small, with thick wooden Shutters, which are close shut 18 hours every day in the

Winter. There are Cellars under the House, where are put the Wines, Brandy, strong Beer, Butter, Cheese, &c. Four large Fires are made in great Stoves, built on purpose, every day. As soon as the wood is burnt down to a coal, the tops of the Chimneys are close stopped with an iron cover: this keeps the heat within the House, though at the same time the smoke makes their heads ach, and is very offensive and unwholesome: notwithstanding which, in four or five hours after the Fire is out, the inside of the Walls of the House and Bed places will be two or three inches thick with Ice, which is every morning cut away with a Hatchet. Three or four times a day they make iron Shot of 24 pounds weight red-hot, and hang them up in the Windows of the apartments. Though a good fire be in the room the major part of the 24 hours, yet all this will not preserve the Beer, Wine, Ink, &c. from freezing.

For a Winter Dress, they make use of three pair of Socks of coarse Blanketing, or Duffield, for the feet, with a pair of Deer-skin Shoes over them; two pair of thick English Stockings, and a pair of cloth Stockings upon them; Breeches lined with flannel; two or three English Jackets, and a fur or leather gown over them; a large beaver Cap, double, to come over the face and shoulders, and a cloth of blanketing under the chin; with yarn Gloves, and a large pair of beaver Mittens, hanging down from the shoulders before, to put the hands in, which reach up as high as the elbows; yet notwithstanding this warm cloathing, almost every day, some of the men that stir abroad, if any Wind blows from the Northward, are dreadfully frozen; some have their Arms, Hands, and Face blistered and frozen in a terrible manner; the skin coming off soon after they enter a warm house, and some have lost their

toes. And their confinement for the cure of these frozen parts, brings on the Scurvy in a lamentable manner. Many have died of it, and few are free from that Distemper. And notwithstanding all endeavours, nothing will prevent that distemper from being mortal, but exercise and stirring abroad.

Coronæ, and Parhelia, commonly called Halos and Mock-Suns, appear frequently about the Sun and Moon here. They are seen once or twice a week about the Sun, and once or twice a Month about the Moon, for four or five Months in the Winter; several Coronæ of different diameters appearing at the same time. Five or six parallel Coronæ, concentric with the Sun, are seen several times in the Winter, being for the most part very bright, and always attended with Parhelia or Mock-Suns. The Parhelia are always accompanied with Coronæ, if the Weather be clear; and continue for several days together, from the Sun's rising to his setting. These rings are of various Colours, and about 40 or 50 degrees in diameter.

The frequent appearance of these Phenomena in this frozen Clime, seems to confirm *Descartes*'s Hypothesis, who supposes them to proceed from Ice suspended in the Air.

The Aurora Borealis is much oftner seen here than in *England*; seldom a Night passes in the Winter free from their appearance: They shine with a surprising brightness, darkening all the Stars and Planets, and covering the whole Hemisphere: their tremulous motion from all parts, and their beauty and lustre, are much the same as in the Northern parts of *Scotland* and *Denmark*, &c.

The dreadful long Winters here, may almost be compared to the Polar Parts, where the absence of the Sun con-

tinues almost for six Months; the Air being perpetually chilled and frozen by the Northerly Winds, in Winter, and the cold Fogs and Mists obstructing the Sun's beams in the short Summer they have; for notwithstanding the Snow and Ice is then dissolved in the Low-lands and Plains, yet the Mountains are perpetually covered with Snow, and incredible large bodies of Ice continue in the adjacent Seas. When the Wind blows from the Southern parts, the Air is tolerably warm; but very cold when it comes from the Northward; and it seldom blows otherwise than between the North-East and North-West, except in the two Summer Months, when they have light Gales between the East and the North, and Calms.

The Northerly Winds being so extremely cold, is owing to the neighbourhood of high Mountains, whose tops are perpetually covered with Snow, which exceedingly chills the Air passing over them. The Fogs and Mists, brought here from the Polar Parts in Winter, appear visible to the naked eye in innumerable Icicles, as small as fine hairs or threads, and pointed as sharp as needles. These Icicles lodge in the cloaths; and if the Faces or Hands be uncovered, they presently raise Blisters as white as a linen cloth, and as hard as horn. Yet if they immedia ely turn their backs to the Weather, and can bear a Hand out of the mitten, and with it rub the blistered part for a small time, they sometimes bring the skin to its former state: if not, they make the best of their way to a Fire, and get warm water, with which they bathe it, and so dissipate the Humours raised by the frozen Air; otherwise the skin would be off in a short time, with much hot, serous, watery matter coming from under along with the skin; and this hap-

pens to some almost every time they go abroad for five or six Months in the Winter, so extremely cold is the Air when the Wind blows any thing strong.

It is observed, that when it has been extreme hard Frost by the thermometer, and little or no Wind that day, the Cold has not near so sensibly affected them, as when the thermometer has showed much less freezing, having a brisk gale of Northerly Wind at the same time. This difference may perhaps be occasioned by those sharp pointed Icicles before mentioned, striking more forcibly in a windy day than in calm Weather; thereby penetrating the naked skin, or parts but thinly covered, and causing an acute sensation of Pain or Cold. And the same reason will probably hold good in other places.

It is not a little surprizing to many, that such extreme Cold should be felt in these parts of *America*, more than in places of the same Latitude on the coast of *Norway*; but the difference seems to be occasioned by Wind blowing constantly here, for seven Months in the twelve, between the North-East, and North-West; and passing over a large tract of Land, and the exceedingly high Mountains, &c. Whereas at *Drontheim* in *Norway*, as Capt. M. observed some years ago, in wintering there, the Wind all the Winter comes from the North North-west, and crosses a great part of the Ocean, clear of those large bodies of ice found here perpetually. At this place they have constantly every year nine Months Frost and Snow; and unsufferable Cold from *October* till the beginning of *May*. In the long Winter, as the Air becomes less ponderous towards the Polar Parts, and nearer to an equilibrium, as it happens about one day in a week, they then have Calms and light Airs all round the Compass, continuing sometimes 24 hours, and then back

to its old place again; in the same manner as it happens every Night in the *West Indies*, near some of the Islands.

The Snow that falls here is as fine as dust, but never any Hail, except at the beginning and end of Winter. Almost every full and change of the Moon, very hard Gales from the North. The constant Trade-Winds in these Northern Parts he thinks undoubtedly to proceed from the same principle, which Dr. *Halley* conceives to be the cause of the Trade Winds near the Equator, and their Variations. For that the cold dense Air, by reason of its great gravity, continually presses from the Polar Parts towards the Equator, where the Air is more rarefied, to preserve an Equilibrium, or balance of the Atmosphere, is very evident from the Wind in those frozen Regions blowing from the N. and N. W. from the beginning of *October*, till *May*; for when the Sun, at the beginning of *June*, has warmed those Countries to the Northward, then the South east, East and variable Winds, continue 'till *October* again; and doubtless the Trade Winds and hard Gales may be found in the southern Polar Parts to blow towards the Equator, when the Sun is in the Northern Signs, from the same principle.

The limit of these Winds from the Polar Parts, towards the Equator, is seldom known to reach beyond the 30th degree of Latitude; and the nearer they approach to that limit, the shorter is the continuance of those Winds. In *New England*, it blows from the North near four Months in the Winter; at *Canada*, about five Months; at the *Danes'* Settlement in *Davis's* Straits, in the 63d degree of Latitude, near seven Months; on the Coast of *Norway*, in 64° not above five Months and an half, because blowing over a great part of the Ocean, as before mentioned; for those Northerly Winds continue a longer or shorter time,

as the Air is more or less rarefied, which may very probably be altered several degrees, by the nature of the Soil, and the situation of the adjoining Continents.

The vast bodies of Ice met with in the Passage from *England* to *Hudson's* Bay are very surprising, not only as to quantity but magnitude, and as unaccountable how they are formed of so great a bulk; some of them being immersed 100 fathom or more under the surface of the Ocean; and a fifth or sixth part above, and three or four miles in circumference. Some hundreds of these are sometimes seen in a Voyage, all in sight at once, when the Weather is clear. Some of them are frequently seen on the Coasts and Banks of *Newfoundland* and *New England*, though much diminished. When becalmed in *Hudson's* Straits, for three or four Tides together, Captain M. has taken a boat, and laid close to the side of one of them, sounded, and found 100 fathom water all round it. The Tide flows here above four fathom; and he has observed, by marks on a body of Ice, the tide to rise and fall that difference, which was a certainty of its being aground. And in a Harbour in the Island of *Resolution*, where he continued four days, three of these Isles of Ice came aground. He sounded along by the side of one of them, quite round it, and found 32 fathom water, and the Height above the surface but ten yards; another was 28 fathom under, and the perpendicular Height but nine yards above the water.

Capt. M. accounts for the Aggregation of such large bodies of Ice in this manner: All along the Coasts of *Davis's* Straits, both sides of *Baffin's* Bay, *Hudson's* Straits, *Anticosh* or *Labradore*, the Land is very high and bold, and 100 fathoms, or more, close to the Shore. These Shores have many Inlets or Fairs, the cavities of which are

filled up with Ice and Snow, by the almost perpetual Winters there, and frozen to the ground; increasing for four, five, or seven years, till a kind of Deluge or Land-flood, which commonly happens in that space of time throughout those parts, breaks them loose, and launches them into the Straits or Ocean, where they are driven about by the variable Winds and Currents in the Months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, rather increasing than diminishing in bulk, being surrounded, except in four or five points of the Compass, with smaller Ice for many hundred leagues, and Land covered all the year with Snow; the Weather being extremely cold, for the most part, in those summer Months. The smaller Ice that almost fills the Straits and Bays, and covers many leagues out into the Ocean along the Coast, is from four to ten fathom thick, and chills the Air to that degree, that there is a constant increase to the large Isles, by the Seas washing against them, and the perpetual wet Fogs, like small Rain, freezing as they settle on the Ice; and their being so deeply immersed under water, and such a small part above, prevents the Winds having much power to move them: for though it blows from the North-west quarter near nine Months in twelve; and consequently those Isles are driven towards a warmer Climate, yet the progressive motion is so slow, that it must take up many years before they can get five or six hundred leagues to the Southward; probably some hundreds of years are required; for they cannot well dissolve before they come between the 50th and 40th degree of latitude; where the heat of the Sun consuming the upper parts, they lighten and waste in time, yet there is a perpetual supply from the Northern parts.